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No. 54.
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BY

A. H. LONGHURST

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BY

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AUTHOR'S NOTE.

Most of the scenes portrayed in the beautiful bas-reliefs recovered from the ruined *stūpas* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa illustrate well-known stories from the *Jātaka*, or incidents in the life of the Buddha and their identification is an easy matter. There are, however, a number of uncommon scenes which are difficult to identify, some of which have not been met with before in Buddhist art. This difficulty is further enhanced owing to the careless arrangement of the sculptures. For instance, a series of carved panels may illustrate a complete story from beginning to end, or on the contrary, each panel may depict a scene taken from different stories in no way related to each other. It seems that the sculptors were given a free hand in the ornamentation of the buildings at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, each man choosing his own subject as his fancy and ability dictated, just as Indian sculptors do to-day when they are employed in decorating a modern temple.

In Part I, I have described the locality, the history of the place so far as it is known, and the chief buildings and antiquities discovered during the explorations. I have to thank Dr. J. Ph. Vogel of Leiden University, for permission to use his valuable paper on the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, 1931, in giving a brief history of the site here.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner, Ceylon, for the scholarly description of the interesting bas-reliefs illustrated in Part II. The identification of the different scenes portrayed in these sculptures entailed a considerable amount of careful research work which Dr. Paranavitana very kindly undertook in addition to his official duties. In the spelling of proper names occurring in the stories, the method adopted has been to use the Pali form when the source is a Pali text and the Sanskrit form when the story is taken from Sanskrit sources. Familiar names like Siddhārtha, Rājagṛha, etc., are given in their Sanskrit forms, which are better known, even when the story is taken from a Pali text.

In conclusion, I would like to add that this account of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa explorations would never have been published except for the keen interest taken in the discoveries by Mr. J. F. Blakiston, late Director General of Archæology in India, from whom I have received every encouragement and assistance in the work.

A. H. LONGHURST.

COLOMBO,

July 28, 1936.

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THE BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES OF NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA, MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

PART I.

LOCALITY.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, or Nāgārjuna's Hill is the name of a large rocky hill on the right bank of the Kṛishṇā river in the Palnāḍ Taluk of the Guṇṭūr District of the Madras Presidency, and 16 miles west of Mācherla railway station, the terminus of the line from Guṇṭūr opened in 1931. The first ten miles of the journey from Māцcherla can be done by bullock-cart over a very bad road to the village of Nāgulavāram, picturesquely situated midst cultivated fields with a long low range of mauve hills in the distance running from north to south. These hills are an offshoot of the Nallamalai Range in the adjoining Kurnool District. At Nāgulavāram the cart track ends and the traveller has to arrange with the village Headman for porters to carry his luggage over the hills to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a distance of 6 miles by footpath. The first 2 miles is pleasant walking through cultivated fields until the foot of the hills is reached. Here, the path leads up the steep slope of the rocky hills to a plateau on top, after crossing which, the path descends into a deep boulder strewn gorge with thorny jungle on either side. At the foot of the gorge the country opens out into a red-soil valley about three miles in width and completely shut in by the surrounding hills and the Kṛishṇā river on the western side, forming the boundary between the Guṇṭūr District and the Nizam's Dominions, the latter being indicated by a range of hills in the distance (Plate I). Here, the Kṛishṇā is about half a mile in width with numerous rocks and sandbanks in its bed, but in the rains it is a mighty river navigable for country craft right down to the sea (Plate II (*a*)). The only way of getting in or out of the valley is by the gorge just mentioned, or by means of the river. On the north-western side of the valley stands Nāgārjuna's Hill overhanging the river. It is a large lozenge-shaped hill of rock about a mile in length and 200 acres in extent with a plateau of sheet rock on top, the edges of which form rugged cliffs all round the summit converting the latter into a natural fortress. These natural defences have been strengthened by brick and stone fortifications now in ruins, but showing that at one time the plateau was used as a citadel. With the exception of two small ruined Hindu temples and a mediæval stone gateway, there are no ancient remains on the hill. The bricks used in the construction of the fortifications are similar in size to those used in

the Buddhist monuments in the valley. The bricks resemble big tiles and measure 20 in. by 10 in. by 3 in., exactly the same dimensions as some of the bricks unearthed at Bulandibāgh near Patnā in Bihār, the ancient site of Aśoka's capital Pāṭalīputra. It is strange that two sites so far distant, should yield large bricks of the same dimensions. On the northern slopes of the hill are several long stone curtain walls and bastions which belong to later times and were probably built by some local chief about the sixteenth century during the Vijayanagar period (Plate I).

In the centre of the valley is the little hamlet of Pullareddigudem inhabited by a few Telugu Hindus, Lambādis and Chenchus. The Lambādis are a picturesque gipsy tribe who keep large herds of cattle and cultivate their own lands, while the Chenchus are a wild jungle people who live in the forest-clad Nallamalais of the adjacent Kurnool District, their chief settlement being at Śrīśailam (Plate III). They live mainly by hunting and trapping and collect honey, roots, firewood and charcoal. Their dwellings consist of small beehive-shaped huts with mud walls and roofs covered with palm leaves and reeds. The huts are built close together in lines and are usually protected by a strong wooden stockade. The Chenchus are expert archers and trackers and even kill tigers with poisoned arrows at times. The hamlet of Pullareddigudem consists of a collection of exceedingly squalid mud huts with thatched roofs (Plate II (*b*)). As it is impossible to cover the apex of such roofs with thatch, the opening is usually protected by an inverted earthenware pot. It seems probable that in this humble and ancient device we have the prototype of the ornamental pottery finials which became one of the chief characteristics of the roofs of early Indian buildings. The village is presided over by the Headman who is known as the Reddi and whose word is law in all local matters. He owns a large herd of cattle and lives in the best house in the hamlet (Plate II (*b*)). The only food supplies available for the visitor are milk, eggs and a few chickens, everything else required must be brought with one's baggage.

The central portion of the valley is under cultivation but the rest of the land is covered with stones, rocks and thorny jungle and is quite useless for cultivation. It is a wild and desolate spot and being shut in by a ring of rocky hills is usually intensely hot during most months of the year and has an evil reputation for malaria, the surrounding Nallamalais being one of the worst districts in the Madras Presidency on account of this deadly scourge, so much so, that the Chenchus are the sole inhabitants of the Nallamalais. A few gazelle, peafowl and sandgrouse may be found in the thorny jungle along the foot of the hills, while in the caves in the rugged cliffs above, panthers are always present and prey upon the local flocks and herds. Occasionally, a tiger from the neighbouring Kurnool forests wanders into the valley and kills a cow or a bullock and then returns to his own jungles over the border, but they never remain permanently as the panthers do and are therefore, far less destructive. The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa took me about ten months to complete and during this period I shot six panthers to the great delight of the local villagers, and the Chenchus in particular, who actually ate the flesh of these animals.

I explored many miles of country on the plateaux of the surrounding hills but found no signs of any buildings. This country is of vast extent and for the most part, formed of solid rock deeply scarred with fissures and ravines, sparse vegetation and is a barren and waterless region unfit for human habitation. There is a small rocky hill on the south-western side of the valley not far from the river, which like Nāgārjuna's Hill, contains the remains of brick fortifications all round its summit but no traces of other buildings. This hill commands the approach to and from the river and was doubtless fortified for that reason. Remains of fort walls here and there indicate that at one time, a line of ramparts with a gateway in the middle extended from this hill to Nāgārjuna's Hill on the other side, a distance of about half a mile. The picturesque valley is dotted with numerous rocky hillocks and artificial mounds covered with grass and jungle. These mounds represent the sites of former Buddhist monuments, mostly tombs, temples and monasteries. A vast number of groups of standing limestone pillars are met with in the valley. Each group marks the site of a ruined hall or *maṇḍapa* originally belonging to some monastery. Only one site was discovered, in the central part of the valley, which appears to represent the remains of a palace, and yet there must have been many important secular buildings in so large a city. The area occupied by the ruins is far greater than at Amarāvatī in the same district and on the same bank of the Krishṇā river, the distance between the two places being only about sixty miles as the crow flies, but considerably longer by river. Its strategical position, protected on three sides by natural fortifications and the river on the fourth side, together with two strongly fortified hills defending the river front, shows that it must have been a place of considerable importance and well nigh impregnable in early times. In all probability, the Krishṇā was a much larger river then than now, affording easy navigation down to the sea at all seasons of the year, thus making the city readily accessible and in communication with the other Buddhist settlements at Gōli, Chezerla, Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta, Ghaṇṭāśālā, Gummadiduru, Bezwada and Bhaṭṭiprōlu, all of which are situated in the lower Krishṇā valley and within easy reach of the river. The Krishṇā was known to the Greeks under the name Maisōlos, and the Krishṇā delta is consequently called Maisōlia by Ptolemy. The *Periplus* speaks of " the region of Masalia stretching a long distance along the coast before the inland country " and adds that " a great quantity of muslins is made here ". The ancient name by which this part of southern India was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the seaport Masulipatam.

HISTORY.

This remarkable site was discovered in March 1926 by the late Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, Telugu Assistant to the Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. He found several brick mounds and marble pillars, a few of the pillars standing erect and three of them bearing inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brāhmī characters of the second and third centuries A.D. As I was due to go on leave at the time, I requested Mr. Hamid Kuraishi, who was appointed to officiate

for me while I was on furlough, to visit Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and ascertain the extent of the site and its possibilities. Although his visit lasted only a week or two, he found no less than eighteen inscribed pillars, two ruined apsidal temples and several sculptures, showing that the site was rich in Buddhist antiquities and well worth the cost of excavation. During the same year Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the late Government Epigraphist, visited the site and had estampages prepared of all the inscriptions discovered, these were forwarded to Professor Vogel of Leiden University, who at Dr. Hirananda Sastri's request, very kindly undertook the laborious task of editing the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, 1931. On my return from leave in 1927 systematic explorations were commenced at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and I completed the excavations in February 1931. The discoveries include a number of ruined monasteries, apsidal temples, ***stūpas***, inscriptions, coins, relics, pottery, statues, and over four hundred magnificent bas-reliefs in the Amarāvatī style and belonging to the same period.

The historical information furnished by the inscriptions is very meagre. These records belong to the Southern Ikhāku dynasty who were ruling in the Āndhra country in the second and third centuries A.D. It is interesting to meet with a line of kings settled in the Āndhra country claiming descent from Ikhāku, the mythical progenitor of the famous Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. It is well known that not only Rāma belonged to that illustrious house, but the Buddha too, is called a scion of the same race. It is clear from the inscriptions that these Southern Ikhākus were rulers of considerable importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the Mahārājas of Vanavāsa (North Kanara), but also with the kings, presumably the descendants of the Satrap Chashṭana, who resided at Ujjayinī in Central India. A curious fact about them is, that while the kings followed Brahmanism and performed Vedic sacrifices, their consorts were devotees of Buddhism and erected monasteries and temples in honour of the Buddha at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The male members took no active part in the foundation of the religious monuments of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. They owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikhāku, the principal founder being a princess named Chāṁtisiri who is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in not less than nine of the pillar inscriptions belonging to the Great *Stūpa*, or ***Mahā-chetiya*** as it is called in the inscriptions, and which was founded (or perhaps rebuilt), by the lady in question in the sixth year of the reign of King Siri Vīra-purisadata. Chāṁtisiri was, moreover, the foundress of an apsidal temple and a monastic hall built close together on the eastern side of the Great *Stūpa*. This is recorded in a long inscription engraved on the stone floor of Temple No. 1. (Plate IV.) The pillar inscriptions of the Great *Stūpa* acquaint us with three more noble ladies who were associated with Chāṁtisiri in her pious works. Another important inscription was found inscribed on the stone floor of a ruined apsidal temple situated on the top of a small rocky hill about 2 furlongs to the east of the Great *Stūpa*, and known locally as Nāharāḷḷabōḍu, and which contains the most important group of monastic buildings, including two monasteries, three apsidal temples built of brick and plaster, and the remains of two ***stūpas***.

The first apsidal temple (No. 1), as we have seen, was founded by the princess Chāṁtisiri, while the other shrine of this type (No. 2), on the contrary, was built by a simple *upāsikā*, Bodhisiri by name, who does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikhākus. Her relatives, who were to share in the merit of her pious enterprise, are enumerated at great length. The temple seems to have been founded during the reign of Siri-Vīrapurisadatta, and dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who are stated to have converted the people of Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga (Bengal), Vanavāsa (North Kanara), Yavana, Damila and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi (Ceylon). The latter part of this inscription mentions other pious works by Bodhisiri, including a stone *maṇḍapa* or pillared hall at the eastern gate of the *Mahāchetiya* at Kanṭakasōla. As Dr. Vogel says, this locality must be identical with "the emporium Kantikossula" mentioned by Ptolemy as being situated on the east coast "after the mouths of the Maisōlos (Kṛishṇā)".

In the same inscription (F. of Dr. Vogel's list), the city which once stood in the valley at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, is called Vijayapurī, and the hill now known as Nāhārāḷḷabōḍu on which the lady Bodhisiri built a monastery and an apsidal temple for the Ceylonese monks settled there, is mentioned as the Lesser Dhammagiri on Śrīparvata. The hill in question is an offshoot of the surrounding Nallamalais (Black Hills) of the adjacent Kurnool District, where they extend all along the Kṛishṇā in a westerly direction. They are covered with dense forest and are very malarious, the Chenchus being the only people who live in these hills on account of the deadly climate. On a forest-clad hill facing the river, and about 60 miles west of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, stands the famous Śrīśailam temple, sacred to Śiva and a great place of pilgrimage in the month of March, when a big annual festival is held and some twenty thousand people collect there and camp in the forest all round the temple as there is no village at Śrīśailam, merely a Chenchu hamlet and nothing more. It seems from the inscription just mentioned, that the ancient name for the Nallamalais was Śrīparvata, in fact, this must be so as there are no other hills in the district. As Dr. Vogel points out in his valuable account of the inscriptions, the mention of Śrīparvata is particularly interesting, as there is an ancient tradition preserved in Tibet that the famous Buddhist divine Nāgārjuna spent the latter part of his life in a monastery on Śrīparvata. If the monastery in question was one of those still existing on the Lesser Dhammagiri (Nāhārāḷḷabōḍu), it would follow that the association of Nāgārjuna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The inscriptions recovered from the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* show that the famous stone railing was added to that monument between the second and third centuries A.D., and that Nāgārjuna's name occurs in connection with its erection. If this is correct, it proves that he was living in the Kṛishṇā valley at the same time when the monasteries on the Lesser Dhammagiri were in their prime.

The fact that a monastery and an apsidal temple were built to accommodate the Ceylonese monks settled at Vijayapurī shows that very cordial relations must have existed between the Buddhist community of the Kṛishṇā valley and

their co-religionists in Ceylon. The two buildings stand close together on the highest part of the hill and face Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. At the lower end of the hill is a second monastery and two smaller apsidal temples inside the monastic courtyard, but no inscriptions were recovered from this site. There can be little doubt that the monastery built by Bodhisiri is the ruined one standing alongside of the apsidal temple containing the inscription enumerating her pious works (F. of Dr. Vogel's list).

The existence of such friendly relations between the two communities can be readily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and Kaṇṭakasōla, the great emporium of the Kṛishṇā delta.

This trade, as Dr. Vogel mentions, was no doubt, mainly responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in the Kṛishṇā valley. The Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes, and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as those at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvatī. These monuments attest to the piety and the wealth of the Buddhist community in these parts during the second and third centuries of our era. In the seventh century when Hiuen Tsang visited the district, the monasteries were mostly deserted and already in ruins. The decline of Buddhism on the lower Kṛishṇā may have had other causes besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic agents at work, such as the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into Southern India. There was also the conquest of the South by the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava in the South and the Chālukya in the West.

The ruthless manner in which all the buildings at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have been destroyed is simply appalling and cannot represent the work of treasure-seekers alone as so many of the pillars, statues and sculptures have been wantonly smashed to pieces. Had there been a town close at hand as at Amarāvatī, one can understand the site being used as a quarry by modern builders as was so often done in India. But this never occurred at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as there are no towns and no cart roads in or out of the valley. Local tradition relates that the great Hindu philosopher and teacher Śaṅkarāchārya of mediæval times came to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa with a host of followers and destroyed the Buddhist monuments. Be this as it may, the fact remains that the cultivated lands in the valley on which the ruined buildings stand represent a religious grant made to Śaṅkarāchārya, and it was only with the sanction of the present Religious Head of the followers of this great teacher that I was able to conduct the excavations. This same Brāhman Pontiff, who resides at Pushpagiri in the Guntur District, also owns the Śrīśailam temple in the Nallamalais, which no doubt was acquired in the same manner, as it seems to have been a Buddhist site originally.

The inscriptions recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa show that in the second and third centuries A.D., the ancient city of Vijayapurī must have been one of the largest and most important Buddhist settlements in Southern India and a

great place of pilgrimage and a seat of learning, as the inscriptions inform us that pilgrims and visitors came from all parts of India, Ceylon and even China.

One naturally wonders what kind of people were living in this district before the advent of Buddhism and with the object of trying to solve this query I kept a sharp look out for any remains belonging to the pre-Buddhist period and at last discovered an ancient tomb which I venture to think may be safely consigned to that early period (Plate II (*c*) and (*d*)). It is situated on the eastern side of the rocky hillock named Nāharāḷḷabōḍu mentioned above. As this hill like all others at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is covered with boulders of all shapes and sizes and thorny bushes, the tomb was not easy to discover and I had passed the spot on several occasions without noticing it, but one day I observed that some of the boulders were arranged in a circle enclosing a space about 20 feet in diameter, obviously the work of man. The circular space inside the ring of boulders was full of small stones and rank vegetation and did not appear as clearly as it does in the photograph (Plate II (*c*)). The boulders were planted securely in the ground close together in a circle so as to enclose the holy spot and also to keep the cairn of small stones and earth which originally occupied the central space in position. A few feet below the ground level we came upon two big heavy slabs of stone measuring about 8 feet in length, 2 feet in width and 1 foot in thickness, the ends of which pointed north and south respectively. Fixed in the ground at the northern end was a smaller slab in an upright position. The stones were carefully removed, the earth dug out to a depth of 10 feet when rock bottom was reached and although the earth was sifted no human or other remains were found and I feel sure the tomb had not been tampered with by treasure-seekers. However, the nature and construction of the monument clearly shows it is a tomb and that the large blocks of stone were apparently placed on top of the remains of the dead with the object of preventing the spirit or ghost of the departed from returning to earth and causing harm to the living. Similar stone circles have been reported from other places in the Krishṇā valley and it is possible that there may have been plenty at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa at one time but now no longer traceable owing to the villagers having removed the stone circles to make room for cultivation. It would indeed be interesting to know who the people were who set up these quaint memorials to their dead and when they lived, but there is not much hope of these questions being answered now, but I think we may feel certain they lived in pre-Buddhist times.

The ruined buildings discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa represent the remains of *stūpas* or tombs, *vihāras* or monasteries, apsidal temples, pavilions or *maṇḍapas*, a palace site, and a stone-built wharf on the banks of the Krishṇā. The *stūpas*, monasteries and temples were built of large bricks like those already mentioned, the bricks being laid in mud mortar and the walls covered with plaster. The mouldings and other ornamentation of these brick structures were usually executed in stucco and the buildings were whitewashed from top to bottom, not only to protect the plaster but also as a suitable ground for colour-work and gilding. The pillars, floors and important sculptures were of white or grey limestone resembling marble and easy to work. No other stone was used and it was brought

to the site by means of the river and landed at a stone-built wharf the ruins of which still exist. This wharf is about 250 feet in length, 50 feet in width and about 6 feet high along the water front. Three rows of broken stone pillars extending from end to end indicate that it was covered with a wooden roof probably thatched since no remains of tiles were found on the site. This long building no doubt served as a Goods Shed and Customs House as the river traffic must have been considerable as there were no roads for wheeled traffic. Porters carrying head-loads and also pack-bullocks probably entered the valley through the narrow gorge mentioned above but this route was impossible for carts. However, I did manage to get two carts over the hills and through the gorge into the valley, but they had to be taken to pieces and carried by porters and re-assembled on the other side of the gorge. The carts were absolutely necessary in the valley for the removal of the heavy sculptures recovered from the numerous sites to a special enclosure which I had constructed for their temporary protection, prior to the building of an open-air museum which I trust will soon be completed on the spot. The collection of sculptures and statues is the largest and finest ever made in Southern India and the illustrations given in this volume represent only a few typical examples selected from over four hundred museum specimens. The extraordinary thing about many of them is their good state of preservation.

TEMPLES.

With the exception of a few little image houses found in some of the monastic establishments which are square on plan, all the Buddhist temples discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are apsidal buildings oblong on plan. They are long brick buildings with an apse at one end and a doorway at the other, the thick walls were high and the roof was built of brick in the form of a barrel-vault. There were no windows, other than perhaps a small opening above the doorway so that when the door was closed the interior was in semi-darkness. The walls of the interior were plain and covered with plaster and whitewash. The floors and steps were of stone, the front step being cut in the form of a semi-circle and usually known as a moonstone. With one exception, all the moonstones discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are plain. The one exception had an outer border decorated with a procession of lions, horses and bulls in bas-relief. There is nothing remarkable about the moonstones found in India, it was only in Ceylon where the Buddhists developed this architectural member into a thing of surprising beauty. The exterior walls of the temples were ornamented with a few rows of simple mouldings along the base and cornice, while the summit of the waggon-headed roof was adorned with a row of tall pottery finials. The orientation of these temples seems to have been a matter of chance rather than of choice as they face in all directions without any distinction.

In Plate IV (*b*), we have a plan of Temple 1 built by the Princess Chāṁtisiri in the second century A.D., or thereabouts, as already mentioned. When first discovered, the temple was represented by a mound of decayed brick débris overgrown with rank vegetation with nothing to indicate what type of ruined

structure existed below. The roof had fallen in and filled the interior crushing the side walls in the process so that only the lower portion of the building remains intact. It faces the north and its moonstone is missing but its valuable inscription engraved on the stone pavement is in a fair state of preservation. The temple stands close to the eastern side of the Great *Stūpa*.

Temple 2 is similar in style and dimensions to the last and is situated on the hillock known as Nāharāḷḷabōḍu (the Lesser Dhammagiri of the inscriptions). Here, too, only the massive brick walls and stone pavement of the base of the structure remain. A long inscription on its stone floor records the pious works of the lady Bodhisiri and states that this temple and Monastery 1 standing alongside of it were dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks settled at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Like Temple 1, Bodhisiri's temple contained a small stone-built *dāgaba* as the object of worship and faces the west (Plate V (*a*)).

At the lower or northern end of Nāharāḷḷabōḍu hill is Monastery 2 which contains two smaller apsidal temples built facing each other. In one of these we found two broken statues of the Buddha (Plate VI (*a*)) but nothing in the other. They are both standing figures and the larger statue must have been about 8 feet high when complete and the smaller one is life size. Unfortunately, the head, hands and feet are missing but the torso shows that it must have been a well-executed statue of semi-classical appearance (Plate VI (*b*)).

The two life size heads illustrated in Plate VI (*c*) and (*d*) were also found on Nāharāḷḷabōḍu hill but as only the heads were discovered it is impossible to say to which buildings they originally belonged. The head (*d*) is a remarkable specimen and can hardly be meant to represent the Buddha. if so, it is the only example so far discovered portraying the Buddha wearing a draped cap. It seems more likely that it is a portrait image of some famous divine who lived in the adjacent monastery, perhaps the great Nāgārjuna himself, who knows ?

The temples were always built close to monasteries and often within the monastic enclosure itself, so that each monastery had its own temple. Every monastery also had its own *stūpa* or *dāgaba* as an object of worship.

MONASTERIES.

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, each monastic establishment was complete in itself and contained a *vihāra* or dwelling place for the monks, an apsidal temple and a *stūpa*. On plan, the *vihāra* consisted of a rectangular open court-yard enclosed by a brick wall. In the centre was a square stone-paved hall with a wooden roof supported by stone pillars. All round the enclosure abutting onto the outer walls was a row of cells for the monks often with a verandah in front. Some of the cells were used as store-rooms, a few as shrines and there was usually one large room which served as a refectory. In Plate V (*a*) and (*b*) we have a general view of Monastery 1 and Temple 2, both built by the pious lady Bodhisiri for the use of the Ceylonese monks settled at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The plan of Monastery 1 is somewhat irregular on the north-western side indicating that the builders of the structure were not particularly expert. Since no remains of stone pillars were found in the débris which filled the interior of the courtyard before excavation

we may presume that the hall which originally stood on the square pavement in the centre of the monastery was entirely of wood (Plate V (*b*)). The walls are of brick and plaster and traces of a few plain mouldings discovered along the plinth of the cells show that the ornamentation was in plaster. Since no tiles were found in the débris, the wooden roof over the cells was probably covered with thatch. In one of the cells belonging to this monastery a large number of small lead coins of the usual Āndhra type of about the second century A.D. were found, including a lump of lead ore and an earthenware die for the manufacture of coins of this size and pattern, indicating that the monks made their own coins. A large grindstone for crushing grain, a small broken limestone image of the Buddha, a few pieces of ornamental pottery, a broken pottery roof finial of the usual kind, and the curious little doll-like terra-cotta female figurine shown in Plate VII (*a*) were also recovered from this site. This figurine is only 3 inches in height and was found 10 feet below the foundations of Monastery 1 and therefore, may belong to an earlier period. Another interesting terra-cotta figure discovered during the excavation of *Stūpa* 9, which I will describe later, is shown in Plate VII (*b*). The head only was recovered and from the position in which it was found at the bottom of the *stūpa* it appears to have got there by accident when the interior of the *stūpa* was filled in with earth, and therefore may have no real connection with the *stūpa*.

Monastery 2 is a small but well-arranged *vihāra* (Plate V (*c*)). The court-yard contains two apsidal temples facing each other, the usual central hall, and a row of cells and rooms all round the enclosure. An entrance on the east side leads into a second open court-yard containing a long building abutting onto the eastern wall. This structure has a stone seat all round the room and a big stone table outside the doorway so we may presume it was the refectory. On the opposite side of the enclosure is a long stone bench built against the west wall. On the south side are two cells or store-rooms, a kitchen and a small lavatory in the northern corner of the enclosure, and as usual, a *stūpa* stood close to the monastery. (*Stūpa* 4.) All the buildings are roofless. The two apsidal temples had barrel-vaulted roofs of brick construction but the rest of the buildings had wooden roofs covered with thatch. The pillars of the central hall were of stone and its floor was of the same material. When first discovered the entire building was underground and covered by a mound of brick débris. The difficulty of excavating this monument was greatly enhanced owing to treasure-seekers having broken up the stone pavement of the central hall and scattered the broken slabs all over the place. All this stone had to be dug out, collected and stacked before it was possible to trace out the plan of the monastery (Plate V (*d*)).

Ruined pillared halls of all sizes abound at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, many of them with their pillars still standing erect. A few inscriptions found on some of the pillars show that many of these buildings belonged to the monasteries and were erected by pious donors as resthouses for pilgrims and visitors. A good example of this type of building is illustrated in Plate VIII (*a*). This hall formed part of Monastery 3 which is located at the foot of Nāgārjuna's Hill. An inscription

(G of Dr. Vogel's List) found engraved on one of the pillars shows that it was a monastic hall erected a little later than the monuments previously noticed. The *vihāra* to which it belonged must have been a large one and contained a fairly big *stūpa* and two apsidal temples built facing each other as in Monastery 2. The pillars are of limestone, nicely cut and stand about 8 feet above the floor level which in the more important buildings was paved with stone. The upper and lower portions of the shafts are square in section and ornamented with semi-circular medallions carved with the lotus emblem, while the central part of the pillar is octagonal in section. The tops of the pillars are provided with rectangular grooves for the reception of the main beams of the roof which was of wood covered with thatch. The pillars are merely stuck into the ground without any proper foundations and could never have supported a heavy tiled roof or an upper storey. The roofs of these halls seem to have been built in much the same manner as they are to-day (Plate VIII (*b*)). Sometimes, in fact frequently, structures of this kind were converted into buildings containing a number of separate small apartments by filling in the open spaces between the groups of stone pillars with mud or rubble walls covered with plaster. So long as the roof was kept in good repair these partition walls remained intact, but as soon as the roof decayed and disappeared so did the walls of the rooms. So when we meet with ruined buildings of this kind where the structure is represented merely by a group of standing or fallen pillars and perhaps the remains of a stone pavement, it is impossible to say whether it represents the ruins of an open pillared hall or a closed building containing a number of small apartments.

In the central part of the valley, where the ancient city of Vijayapurī once stood, the ruins of a large *maṇḍapa* was discovered and five very handsome stone pillars were unearthed (Plate VIII (*c*)). All are damaged and the pavilion must have been wantonly destroyed. From the style of their elaborate ornamentation and curious semi-classical subjects portrayed on their shafts, the pillars appear to have supported the wooden roof of a hall belonging to some royal palace. No pillars of this kind were found at any of the other sites. Those belonging to the monastic halls are usually plain, or else decorated with lotus medallions on the cubical portions of the shafts, but are never carved with bas-relief scenes or figures like those portrayed on these ornate pillars (Plates IX and X). Two of these pillars are particularly interesting, one represents a bearded soldier, apparently a Scythian wearing a Roman-like helmet, a quilted long sleeved tunic and trousers, and holding a heavy spear. The figure is quite un-Indian and the style of the clothing indicates a Northern origin. Two figures of this kind were found, both carved on the shafts of pillars from this site. The other sculpture portrays a male figure nude down to the waist and holding a drinking horn (*rhyton*) in his left hand. Standing on the ground near his left foot is a wine jar covered with an inverted drinking cup. The figure seems to be meant for a crude representation of Dionysus. The very active sea-borne trade between the Roman Empire and Southern India in the second century A. D., may account for the presence of this figure which was obviously copied from some classical example (9 and 10) (Plate X (*c*) and (*d*)).

STŪPAS.

The chief purpose for which *stūpas* were erected by the Buddhists was to serve as monuments enclosing relics of the Buddha, or of Buddhist saints, which were placed in a reliquary and deposited in a stone coffer, over which the *stūpa* was built. Some, however, contained no relics but were merely commemorative of important events in the life of the Buddha. When they contained relics, the shrine was called a *dhātugarbha* (Pali *dhātugabbho*; Sinhalese *dāgaba*) and as most *stūpas* were erected over relics (*dhātu*), the whole structure came to be known as a *dāgaba*. At the present day, *stūpa* or *dāgaba* is a name common to each kind of tumulus, whether it be the solid rock-cut memorial dedicated to the Supreme Being, or the masonry mound enclosing relics of the Buddha. The earliest Buddhist *stūpas* were low circular brick and plaster mounds resembling in outline their humble prototypes of the prehistoric period. But as time went on and the building arts progressed, the relative height increased. In this manner the age of a *stūpa* may be determined approximately from its shape and height, the earliest being a simple hemisphere resting on a low drum, and the latest a lofty bell-shaped brick structure standing on a many-terraced platform of large dimensions, like those in the Far East.

Unlike the *stūpas* of Northern India which were usually built of solid brick-work, those discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are constructed in the form of a wheel on plan, with hub, spokes and tyre all complete and executed in brick. The open spaces between the radiating walls forming the spokes being filled in with earth before the outer brick casing of the *stūpa* was built up and the dome closed. In section, the curved brick walls forming the spokes of the wheel must have appeared in much the same manner as the spokes of a giant umbrella executed in brickwork. Thus on plan, the *stūpa* was in the form of wheel, but in section, its construction resembled that of an umbrella. These *stūpas* were of all sizes from small mounds 20 feet in diameter to large buildings like the Great *Stūpa* 106 feet in diameter. The nature of their internal construction is shown in Plate XII. In the smaller *stūpas* the central pillar forming the hub of the wheel was sometimes square on plan, but in the larger *stūpas* it was usually circular like the staff of an umbrella which it seems to have been purposely designed to resemble*. The *stūpas* were built of large bricks (20 in.×10 in.×3 in.) laid in mud mortar. When complete, they were covered with plaster from top to bottom and most of the exterior decoration was executed in that material. The dome rested on a drum or circular platform from 3 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the *stūpa*. At the four cardinal points, a rectangular platform the same height as the drum, projected outwards and served as an altar or table for the floral offerings presented to the shrine by pious worshippers. This is a very important feature of the Āndhra *stūpas* and is unknown in Northern India. In the larger and more important *stūpas* each platform supported a group of five stone pillars, which in the inscriptions are called *āyaka*-pillars, but the platforms on which the pillars stand are not mentioned in the inscriptions, so for the

* See the *Story of the Stūpa*, by A. H. Longhurst, published by the Government Printer, Ceylon, in 1936, Price Rs. 2.

want of a better name I will call these altars *āyaka*-platforms in describing them here. Until I discovered them they were apparently unknown to archæologists although the Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati possessed them. The position of the platforms and the pillars is shown in Plate XII. The outer black line shown on plan indicates the position of the railing and the open gateways of the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The railings and gateways were of carved wood and stood on brick foundations. It was only on very rare occasions that they were executed in stone. In later times as in Ceylon, a circular brick parapet wall sometimes took the place of the wooden rails of the earlier *stūpas*. The object of the railing was to enclose the sacred processional path which encircled the base of the *stūpa*. In important monuments the path was usually paved with stone and within this enclosure a number of small shrines and images, the gifts of pious devotees, invariably sprang up as time went on. Outside the gateways, one on each side of the entrance, were sometimes lofty stone or wooden pillars surmounted by Buddhist symbols carved in the round, such as a wheel, or a miniature *stūpa* symbolising the Buddha's death. It was here, where vendors of flowers and garlands had their stalls and sold their wares to the crowds of worshippers who passed through the gates and deposited their humble offerings on the *āyaka*-platforms facing the gateways. It is clear from the numerous beautiful sculptural slabs recovered from the *stūpas* and also from the actual remains of *āyaka*-platforms unearthed, that the *āyaka*-platforms were regarded as the most important features of the *stūpas* and no trouble or expense was spared in making them as beautiful and attractive as possible. All the best sculptures recovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa originally belonged to *āyaka*-platforms, including some long stone beams superbly carved which served as cornice stones to these ornate platforms.

Both the bas-reliefs portraying *stūpas* and the actual remains of such structures unearthed, show that two kinds of *stūpas* existed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the second and third centuries A. D. One was a plain simple structure built of brick and plaster, while the other was profusely decorated from top to bottom, the lower portion being faced with carved limestone slabs fixed in mortar to the brickwork of the *stūpa* (Plate XI (*a*) and (*b*)). In studying these excellent representations of the two kinds of *stūpas* discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the first thing to remember is that the correct ground level of the *stūpa* is on the line A, B. Let us take the plain type of *stūpa* first (Plate XI (*a*)). Standing on the line A, B, we have the front elevation of a simple brick and plaster structure of the usual kind. In all these representations of *stūpas* the upper part of the dome is always shown encircled by a festoon ornament, a very ancient device, and presumably, usually executed in plaster. The drum and *āyaka*-platforms are decorated with the rail pattern and a few popular scenes from the *Jātaka*. The *āyaka*-pillars are shown with rounded tops, octagonal shafts and square bases. This is correct and all the *āyaka*-pillars so far discovered are of this pattern and could not have supported any kind of capital or other ornament as sometimes wrongly portrayed in the bas-reliefs (Plate XIII (*a*)).

On top of the dome is a rectangular coffer-like object known to archæologists as the *tee*, an anglicized form of the Burmese word *hti*. The *tees* appear to have

served as receptacles for valuable offerings made to the shrine and their lids are always shown as though made of heavy slabs of stone or wood placed one above the other and invariably surmounted by one or more umbrellas, the Indian emblem of religious sovereignty. These umbrellas were originally made of stone or wood and usually gilded and in later times they were executed in brick and plaster. The two upper figures depicted flying above the dome of the *stūpa* and holding a mass of conventionalised umbrellas over the *tee* are meant for cherubs, while the two male figures standing below represent human worshippers. The three bas-relief scenes portrayed below the line A, B, are purely decorative and are not connected with the *stūpa* shown above. The three scenes represent a prince watering the Bodhi tree, the Buddha's throne enshrined in a circular temple, and the 'wheel of Light' denoting the Buddha's first sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Benares. It was at Sārnāth where the great Aśoka erected one of his famous edict-bearing pillars crowned by a group of sitting lions placed back to back and supporting a large stone wheel on their backs, in the same manner as is shown in the bas-relief illustrated here (Plate XI (*a*)).

In Plate XI (*b*) we have a faithful portrayal of a profusely decorated Āndhra *stūpa*. Here again, the correct ground level of the building depicted is on the line A, B. Below, the artist has portrayed the wooden railing and one of the gateways. The well-executed standing figure of the Buddha is purely decorative and has no real connection with the rest of the subject. The summit of the *stūpa* is shown in the usual manner while the lower part of the dome, the drum, and *āyaka*-platforms are depicted decorated with bas-relief sculptures, probably meant for stone work, as these portions of the more important *stūpas* were often faced with carved stone slabs, the rest of the ornamentation being in stucco.

The fronts of the *āyaka*-platforms were usually decorated with a central sculpture illustrating one of the leading events in the life of the Buddha, or a portrait image of the Great Teacher, and as a rule, these particular sculptures were better executed than the others. In this example (Plate XI (*b*)), it will be noticed that the *āyaka*-pillars are shown supporting capitals in the form of Buddhist symbols, four of them with *triśūla* ornaments and the fifth or centre pillar with a miniature *stūpa* symbolising the Buddha's death. As explained above, in reality, these *āyaka*-pillars did not support any kind of capital or ornament, and therefore, their representation here is purely conventional, the symbols merely denoting that the pillars were set up in honour of the Buddha and in commemoration of the principal events in his life, or the five great miracles—the Nativity, the Renunciation, the Sambodhi, the First Sermon, and his Death. These five miracles are portrayed in the bas-reliefs, and also as symbols, over and over again both at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Amarāvatī, where as symbols, such as trees, wheels or *stūpas*, they are actually carved on the bases of the *āyaka*-pillars clearly denoting their object. An illustrated account of these *āyaka*-pillars will be found in the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1929-30, so I need not describe them in detail here.

The ornamentation of the decorated *stūpas* was a curious mixture of stone carving and stucco work. When stone was used, it was applied to the face of

the brick-work in the form of carved limestone slabs fixed in mortar and extended from the plinth to the frieze encircling the middle portion of the dome, a point which marks the springing of the dome. Above this frieze all ornamentation had to be in stucco owing to the difficulty of fixing flat slabs of stone to the curved surface of the dome. Open joints and other faults in this stone facing were rectified in plaster. Whenever the masons ran short of stone slabs, the panels were completed in stucco and when the decorative work was finished, the structure was given a coating of whitewash from top to bottom to hide any faults in the work. The white limestone employed was particularly suitable for this kind of patch-work decoration, as the stone is of the right colour and being somewhat absorbent takes plaster or whitewash readily. It was no doubt these considerations and the fact that the stone is soft and easy to work which led to its adoption in preference to any other kind of stone. This method of decorating a *stūpa* partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation, was also employed by the Gandhāra Buddhists, and in all probability, it was the latter who introduced this practice into the Krishṇā valley about the second century A.D. Gandhāra influence is readily discernible in many of the Āndhra sculptures, and the inscriptions inform us that there was considerable intercourse between the Āndhra Buddhists and those of Gandhāra. Roman influence is also manifest in a few of the sculptural antiquities recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. This is not surprising, as we know that at that period there was an extensive sea-borne trade between Rome and this part of India.

The carved wooden railing and open gateway in front of the *āyaka*-platform are cleverly portrayed [Plate XI (*b*)]. The short rails are decorated with lotus bosses and the broad coping of the railing with a festoon device which first appears in the Buddhist sculptures recovered from Gandhāra (now the North-Western Provinces). The stone railing which once enclosed the Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī was decorated in a similar manner to the one shown here. In portraying the gateway, the artist has tried to show the sides of the entrance in perspective but not however very successfully. Four sitting lions, two on each side, guard the entrance.

Two more exquisitely carved panels representing *stūpas* are shown in Plate XI (*c*) and (*d*). These panels originally adorned *āyaka*-platforms. In both bas-reliefs the gateways are cleverly portrayed and in Figure (*c*) we have a representation of the lofty pillars bearing Buddhist symbols which often stood in front of the gateways of the more important *stūpas*. The Buddha's Descent from Heaven shown in Figure (*d*) is a well-executed work of art and more deeply cut than those recovered from Amarāvatī.

The number of panels required to cover the front of an *āyaka*-platform depended on the size of the latter. The best panel was reserved for the centre and occasionally these were square in shape instead of oblong as was usually the case. Unfortunately, only three of these square panels were recovered and all are broken and the missing portions could not be traced. They all belonged to *Stūpa* 3, a highly decorated structure the base of which was faced with carved stone slabs and the upper portion with stucco ornamentation. The slabs were

originally about 4 feet square, 3 inches in thickness and richly carved. Three broken specimens are shown in Plate XIV (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*). They must have been very handsome slabs when intact.

STŪPA 1.—When complete, the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa must have been a perfect example of a plain Āndhra *stūpa*. It is built of large bricks measuring 20″×10″×3″, and in the usual form of a wheel (Plate XII). It was covered with plaster from top to bottom, the dome being decorated with the usual garland ornament, and the drum with a few simple mouldings executed in plaster. No stone was used in its construction, the *āyaka*-pillars alone being of that material, and, as at Amarāvatī, they probably represent a later addition to the *stūpa*. They were gifts, as their inscriptions show, and were erected between the second and third centuries A.D. The diameter of the *stūpa* including the drum is 106 feet. The drum is raised 5 feet above the ground level, and the total height of the monument, excluding the *tee*, must have been about 70 to 80 feet. On top of the drum is a narrow path, 7 feet wide, extending all round the base of the dome. No traces of steps up to this path were found, but it is possible that they may have existed. No steps are depicted in the bas-relief representations of *stūpas*, so perhaps there were none to any of these monuments. The *āyaka*-platforms are 22 feet in length and 5 feet in width, and the bases of the five stone pillars were securely built into the brickwork. In the stone-faced *stūpas* the *āyaka*-platforms were the most highly decorated features of the *stūpa*. Here the Āndhra sculptor exhibited his best works of art, partly because these platforms were regarded as very holy structures resembling altars on which votive offerings were placed, and mainly perhaps, because they faced the four open gateways of the *stūpa*, so that they were the first objects seen by anyone entering the sacred precinct around the *stūpa*. The *stūpa* was surrounded by a processional path 13 feet in width, and enclosed by a wooden railing standing on brick foundations, which still remain. The gateways were formed by extending the railing outwards, so as to form a screen on each side of the entrance, but there were apparently no transoms spanning the entrance, like those of the Sāñchī *toraṇas*. No traces of stone rails or *toraṇas* were found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and it is quite clear that none existed there.

As a rule, the rails and gates were constructed of carved woodwork, no doubt resting on brick foundations, to protect them from damp and the ravages of white ants. It was only in very special cases that they were ever executed in stone, and then they were merely stone models of carved wooden originals.

When first discovered, the Great *Stūpa* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was a large mound of earth and broken brick overgrown with grass and jungle, with two *āyaka*-pillars standing erect, the remaining eighteen pillars having fallen. As the whole of the dome of the *stūpa* had been demolished, the *āyaka*-pillars and platforms thrown down and broken by treasure-seekers, the chances of finding any relics in the edifice appeared very remote indeed. The first thing was to remove the debris and trace out the plan of the structure and recover the broken pillars. When this work was finished and the excavations completed, the appearance of the Great *Stūpa* may be gathered from Plate XII (*a*).

Fortunately, instead of placing the relics in the centre of the Great *Stūpa*, they were deposited in one of the outer chambers on the north-western side of the *stūpa*, where they escaped the notice of the treasure-seekers who wrecked the monument. As the *stūpa* contained 40 chambers, all of which had to be excavated down to the natural ground level, the excavation of this monument was a very laborious task that took a month to complete. At last, when we had given up all hopes of finding anything of interest, one of the coolies noticed a small broken pot in the north-western corner of the chamber marked with a cross on the plan [Plate XIII (*b*)]. The pot had been crushed when the chamber was filled with earth by the Buddhists, and all that remained is shown in Plate XIII (*c*) and (*d*). On the surface were a few white crystal beads and a tiny gold box. After carefully sifting the contents of the pot the following objects were found :—a fragment of bone placed in a small round gold reliquary three-quarters of an inch in diameter. This was placed in a little silver casket, shaped like a miniature *stūpa*, 2½ inches in height, together with a few gold flowers, pearls, garnets and crystals. The three large crystal beads and the round ear-ornament were placed in the pot and not in the casket. The latter unfortunately was very corroded and broken, but a replica was made, which appears in the photograph showing the finds recovered from the tomb. The earthenware pot containing the casket and reliquary was placed originally in the corner of the chamber, which was filled up with earth as soon as the consecration ceremony was over. The brick dome was then built over the remains, and the plastering and decoration of the *stūpa* completed. No traces of ornamental plaster were found in the debris round the monument, except portions of simple mouldings that once decorated the plinth and cornice of the drum. It must have been a perfectly plain structure like those of the Aśokan age before the *āyaka*-pillars were added in the second century A.D.

In the inscriptions belonging to the Great *Stūpa*, the monument is called the "*Mahāchetiya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha," clearly showing that the tomb was consecrated to the Great Teacher and to nobody else. The discovery of the *dhātu*, or bone relic, proves that the monument was a *dhātugarbha*, or "tomb containing a relic," and that it was not a mere "dedicatory" *stūpa*. The latter were memorial *stūpas*, which contained no relics, and, like Aśoka's pillars, were erected on celebrated sites sacred to the Buddha, such as his birthplace, and so on. It is, therefore, obvious that the Great *Stūpa* did not belong to this class of memorial monument. The inscriptions do not definitely state why the *stūpa* was built; they merely state that the *āyaka*-pillars were dedicated to the Buddha, and that they were set up by the princess Chāṁtisiri and other royal ladies of the same house. Supposing the *stūpa* to have been already in existence prior to the erection of the pillars, it would have been necessary first to enlarge the drum and build the *āyaka*-platforms to accommodate the pillars, and then replaster and decorate the *stūpa* from top to bottom to complete the work. In fact, it would have meant rebuilding the whole of the exterior of the monument. Dr. Vogel is of opinion that the inscriptions show that the *Mahāchetiya* was "founded" by Chāṁtisiri, but it is by no means clear whether she built, rebuilt, or merely

contributed to the structure. If she did build the *stūpa*, then it was she who enshrined the relic found in the chamber; but it is impossible to believe that so great an event as this could have occurred without the fact being recorded in at least one of the many inscriptions referring to the *stūpa*. We know that the monument was consecrated to the Buddha, as the inscriptions are quite clear on this point. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the relic recovered from the tomb represents a *dhātu*, or corporeal relic of the Great Teacher, otherwise there could be no possible reason for calling the tomb the "*Mahāchetiya* of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha". That the *Mahāchetiya* was regarded as a particularly holy shrine is obvious from the tone and wording of the inscriptions found at the site. Again, the size of the tomb, the number of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, and the fact that pilgrims came from all over India and Ceylon to reverence it, afford testimony of this.

Unfortunately, the meaning of some of the words and phrases met with in the inscriptions is very obscure. Commenting upon this, Dr. Vogel says—"A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted." Dr Hīrānanda Sāstrī, late Epigraphist to the Government of India, who has also made a study of these inscriptions, found the same difficulty, and, as might be expected in the circumstances, his interpretation of the precise meaning of certain words differs from Dr. Vogel's. The records belonging to the *Mahāchetiya* open with an invocation to the Buddha, who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Dr. Hīrānanda Sāstrī is of opinion that the style and wording of the invocation shows that the *Mahāchetiya* has been specified in these inscriptions as "protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha" and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this *stūpa* from others not similarly consecrated. Nine ruined *stūpas* were discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, four of them highly decorated with stone bas-reliefs similar to those recovered from Amarāvatī, but the *Mahāchetiya* is the only one bearing inscriptions indicating that it was consecrated to the Buddha.

The discovery of the relic and the fact that inscription B. 2 of Dr. Vogel's List, definitely gives the name of the monument as the *Mahāchetiya* of the Buddha, seem conclusive evidence that the monument was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of the Buddha, as Dr. Hīrānanda Sāstrī maintains. The *Stūpa* was probably built long before Chaṁtisiri set up the pillars and rebuilt the structure in the second century A.D., or thereabouts, which would explain why the inscriptions give no information about the consecration or how the relic was obtained. If the *Mahāchetiya* did exist prior to the second century A.D., the fact that it contained corporeal remains of the Great Teacher would have been known throughout India and Ceylon, thus making it unnecessary to record this information in inscriptions added to the monument in later times.

We know from the inscriptions recovered from Sāñchī, Sārnāth and Amarāvatī that the great *stūpas* that existed at these three famous sites were all rebuilt in later times. These inscriptions give the names of some of the pious donors who found the money for the additions to these monuments, but, like the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, they give no information concerning the purpose for which the *stūpas* were built, or when they were erected, just the very points which we should so much like to know. The Amarāvatī inscriptions show that the stone casing, *āyaka*-pillars and stone railing were added to the Great *Stūpa* at that place in the second or third century A.D., that is, at the same period as that in which Chāṁtisiri set up the pillars and rebuilt the *Mahāchetiya* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Originally, the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* seems to have been a plain brick and plaster *stūpa* similar to the *Mahāchetiya*, and it must have been a particularly holy shrine, else it would never have been enlarged and decorated in so costly a fashion. Perhaps when Chāṁtisiri learned what was taking place at Amarāvatī, she felt it incumbent upon herself, as the leading devotee of the Buddha at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa to redecorate and improve the *Mahāchetiya*.

Personally, like Dr. Hīrānanda Sāstrī, I do not think there can be any doubt that the *Mahāchetiya* was originally built to enshrine some corporeal remains of the Buddha, and that the fragment of bone found in the gold reliquary represents a genuine *dhātu*, or relic, of the Great Teacher. There is no reason why such a relic could not have been obtained from Northern India long before the days of Chāṁtisiri.

STŪPAS 2 AND 3 are situated in the north-eastern corner of the valley close to the foot of the Nallamalais which enclose the valley on this side (Plate I). *Stūpa* 2 is in thick forest and only its basement remains. Facing it is a small ruined apsidal temple and the brick foundations of monastic buildings. The *stūpa* had been wantonly destroyed and many beautiful sculptures smashed to pieces. The only thing to be done was to excavate the site and remove the sculptures to a place of safety. When complete, although only a small *stūpa*, it was profusely decorated with carved stone slabs and several *āyaka*-cornice stones of great beauty were recovered from this site. The condition of *Stūpa* 3 was similar to that of *Stūpa* 2 and like the latter, it must have been a splendid structure when complete and highly decorated from top to bottom. The best sculptures recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa came from these two hopelessly ruined *stūpas*. When first discovered, they were overgrown with jungle so that there was nothing to indicate what existed below. In Plate XV (*a*) we have a view of *Stūpa* 3 after the trees and debris had been removed showing the positions of the sculptures as they appeared when first discovered. It will be noticed how the slabs have been thrown down in all directions and most of them purposely broken. Fortunately, I was successful in finding the relics enshrined in this *stūpa* in spite of the manner in which it had been wrecked by treasure-seekers. The latter always dug a hole in the centre of the *stūpa* and as they found no relics gave up the search. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the relics were never put in the centre of the *stūpas* but in one of the chambers, usually on the north side as shown in Plate XII (*b*). The relics recovered from *Stūpa* 3 are

shown in Plate XVI (*a*), and consist of a tiny bone relic placed in a small gold reliquary which was in a second gold reliquary shaped like a miniature *stūpa*. The latter was put into a little round silver casket about three inches in diameter together with a few gold-leaf jasmine flowers, pearl and coral beads. The silver casket was originally placed in a small earthenware pot which was smashed to pieces when the *stūpa* was filled in with earth and the dome built over the relics. Unfortunately, no inscriptions were recovered from these two sites but the ornate style of both *stūpas* denotes that they enshrined the relics of important personages.

Stūpa 4 stands on rising ground in front of Monastery II and was built to contain the remains of twelve monks and the ashes of some important divine from that *vihāra*. From the contents discovered in these monastic *stūpas* it is clear that each monk was provided with the following red earthenware vessels—water-pot, food-bowl and a begging-bowl. It seems that when a monk or priest died the body was cremated and the ashes were placed in the water-pot, the mouth of which was closed by the inverted food-bowl. In this manner, standing in an upright position, twelve water-pots covered with inverted food-bowls were recovered from *Stūpa* 4, together with six large begging-bowls. The latter are of red pottery and double the size of the food-bowls and were placed on the floor of the chamber near the other vessels. The pots were in small groups of three or four and filled with a mixture of bone ash and fine red earth. The latter is the result of white ants making their mud nests in the chambers of the *stūpa* as it occurs in all tombs found in India. There was one pot however, of a different shape to the others. It is globular in form and about nine inches in height. Its mouth was closed by a little red earthenware saucer on top of which was placed an inverted food-bowl of the usual kind. The pot was filled with earth in which was found a small corroded silver casket shaped like a *stūpa* and two and a half inches in height. Inside this was a tiny gold reliquary in the form of a miniature *stūpa* three quarters of an inch in diameter. A few gold-leaf flowers, a square-cut white crystal pendant and a few decayed pearl and coral beads were found in the small silver casket (Plate XVI (*b*)). No inscriptions were recovered from this site, but the relics appear to represent those of some distinguished divine who once lived in the adjacent monastery. The pot containing the relics was found in a chamber all by itself, whereas the other twelve pots were in small groups in different chambers. Thus the *stūpa* seems to have been built to enshrine the relics of some famous divine and the ashes of his twelve principal disciples. It is a plain structure with *āyaka*-platforms and pillars and similar to the other monastic *stūpas* discovered.

Stūpa 5 belongs to Monastery III which is situated at the foot of Nāgārjuna's Hill and described above. Plate XV (*c*) shows the *stūpa* when first discovered and (*d*) of the same Plate its appearance after excavation and repairs. Like *Stūpa* 4, it was erected to contain the remains of monks or priests belonging to Monastery III. In this case, the water-pots and bowls were all of the usual pattern and no gold or silver reliquaries were found, so it appears to have been an ordinary monastic *stūpa* containing the ashes of six monks only. As these

monks or priests could not have all died at the same time, it seems it was the custom as each distinguished member of a *vihāra* died and his body was cremated, to place the ashes in his water-pot covered by the food-bowl and to store them in some place in the *vihāra* until a sufficient number had accumulated to justify the expense of building a *stūpa* to enshrine them. It is clear from the orderly manner in which the pots were grouped together on the floor of one or more chambers of the *stūpa* that they were placed in that position before the dome of the *stūpa* was built. These monastic *stūpas* all had *āyaka*-platforms supporting pillars and they were plain brick and plaster structures like the Great *Stūpa*.

Among the sacred books of the Buddhists written in Pali, there is an important work called the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* or "The Book of the Great Decease", and one of the earliest works of Pali literature. This book, as the title indicates, contains an account of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, or final extinction of the Great Teacher. It describes in detail the last journey of the Master, and records the words spoken by him to his disciples shortly before his death. In this ancient Pali text, we find two sayings attributed to the Buddha which are important, as they appear to throw some light on the meaning of the *āyaka*-pillars and the object for which the *stūpas* were built. The Buddha addresses his favourite disciple Ānanda in the following manner :—"There are four places which must be visited by the faithful :—His birth place, the spot where He attained the supreme truth, the site of His first sermon, and the place of His final extinction". The other saying ascribed to the Buddha relates to the building of *stūpas*, and he tells his disciples that there are four kinds of people who are worthy of a *stūpa*, namely :—Buddhas, Pratyeka Buddhas, Arhats, and Chakravartins. This passage is in close agreement with the style of the *stūpas* discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, as we have the Great *Stūpa* consecrated to the Buddha, the Monastic *Stūpas* containing the remains of important divines or teachers, and Decorated *Stūpas* which may have been built to contain the remains of members of the local royal family. The inscriptions show that some of the Āndhra kings followed Brahmanism, but there may have been many kings not mentioned in the inscriptions who were Buddhists like their wives and other ladies of the royal household.

STŪPA 6 was originally a decorated monument similar to *Stūpas* 2 and 3, and is about 40 feet in diameter and seems to have been built to contain the relics of some person of considerable importance (Plate XV (*b*)). It is situated about three furlongs to the south-west of the Great *Stūpa* and stands away from the monastic sites. It was provided with the usual *āyaka*-platforms and pillars but in this instance, the base of the central pillar in each group was ornamented with a bas-relief sculpture portraying the Buddha preaching, or "Turning the Wheel of the Law". The sculptures recovered from this site are all seriously damaged and more decayed than others. No inscriptions were found, but a small gold reliquary containing a tiny piece of bone, a very corroded and crushed silver casket, a few decayed pearl and coral beads, gold-leaf flowers, and two tiny gold medallions of classical appearance were recovered (Plate XVI (*c*) and (*d*)). The coin-like medallions are too thin to have been used as coins.

The design is embossed on the thin metal. Each one has two small holes drilled at the top showing that they were worn as pendants to a necklace and are about the same size as a sixpence. One bears the portrait of a woman wearing her hair in the Brahman manner. The other represents the portrait of a young man with classical features and both show marked Roman influence. In all probability, the portrait of the lady may represent the princess Chāṁtisiri, the pious donor of so many religious works at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, but who the male figure is supposed to represent it is difficult to suggest but he was probably a member of the local royal family.

STŪPAS 7 AND 8 stand on top of a rocky hillock known locally as Kottampalugu which is situated at the southern end of Nāgārjuna's Hill (Plate I). Close to the two *stūpas* but standing on lower ground is Monastery IV which is similar to Monastery III described above. The roofless pillared hall is 60 feet square and had a row of twenty cells all round it. The pillars are larger but similar to those of Monastery III and need no description here. An inscription found on a pillar belonging to this site (H. of Dr. Vogel's list) records the foundation of the *vihāra* and is probably later in date than the inscription belonging to Monastery III. On the summit of the hill is the plinth only of *Stūpa* 7, probably the remains of a monastic *stūpa*. It is too decayed to be of any archæological interest. Close to it, a little further up the hill, is the ruined basement of *Stūpa* 8 illustrated in Plate XVII (*a*) and (*b*). The remains stand only about 5 feet high and the diameter of this little *stūpa* is only 27 feet. It had *āyaka*-platforms but no pillars, only the larger *stūpas* had *āyaka*-pillars. As the structure had been demolished by treasure-seekers I did not expect to find any relics. However, after a careful search, this humble little mound yielded the finest and best preserved relics recovered from the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa *stūpas*. Unlike the relic caskets found in other *stūpas* which were placed in ordinary small red earthenware pots, those recovered from *Stūpa* 8 were placed inside a stone casket shaped like a miniature *stūpa*, one foot four inches high with *tee* and umbrella complete (Plate XVII (*c*)). The tiny umbrella canopy was of stone fixed to the *tee* with a small iron rod. The casket is made of four separate pieces of stone and the dome is ornamented in relief with the usual garland device. Inside the stone casket was a pottery-made casket of similar shape 6 inches high covered with a pale green glaze (Plate XVII (*d*)). This again contained a copper casket 4 inches high and of similar shape to the last (Plate XVII (*e*)). Within the latter was a small silver casket 2 inches in height containing a beautiful little gold reliquary in the form of a *stūpa* 1½ inches high. The latter contained a bone relic, gold lotus and jasmine flowers and a few decayed pearl and coral beads (Plate XVII (*f*)). No inscriptions were found unfortunately, but the elaborate care taken in preserving the bone relic in so many different little caskets indicates that the *stūpa* must have been erected to enshrine the remains of some person of considerable importance. In outward appearance the *stūpa* was of the plain variety like the monastic *stūpas* and built of brick and plaster.

Stūpa 9 is near the foot of the fortified hill on the south-western side of the valley and not far from the river (See Plate I). It measures 42 feet in diameter and was originally partly decorated with carved stone slabs most of which were found in a mutilated condition. Like all the other *stūpas* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, only the basement remains (Plate XVIII (*a*)). It is of the usual wheel pattern on plan and had *āyaka*-platforms and pillars. No reliquaries or caskets were found in this *stūpa*, but the calcined bones of the ox, deer and hare deposited on the floor of a chamber on the north-eastern side, while in a chamber on the opposite side were two red earthenware water-pots and two food-bowls standing on the floor in an upright position (Plate XVIII (*d*)). These vessels are similar to those found in the monastic *stūpas* described above. The pots contained nothing but fine red earth, the work of white ants. As no traces of bone ash were found in the pots we may presume that they originally contained water and food for the spirits of the dead animals whose remains were enshrined in the *stūpa*. The remaining chambers contained nothing but the usual filling of earth and brick debris. It was whilst removing the latter that we came across the little terra-cotta head illustrated in Plate VII (*b*) and which may have been thrown into the chamber by accident.

That the larger bones are those of a bull or cow is certain, as I found the frontal bones of the skull with the horn-bearers complete, although the actual horns had disappeared, we also found parts of the jaw bones and lots of teeth. There were only a few bones of the deer and one lower brow line denoting that the animal must have been a sambur and not a spotted deer. There were also plenty of small bones, jaws and teeth of the hare. The remains of these three animals were all mixed up on the floor of the chamber and were not placed in pots as was the custom with human relics (Plate XVIII (*c*)). From the style of the few sculptures recovered from this *stūpa* it seems to have been a Buddhist monument and yet it is most unlikely that Buddhists would have sacrificed these animals. Perhaps they were sacred animals and kept as pets and when they died their bodies were cremated and the remains enshrined in the *stūpa*. This is not the only instance of this kind, as we found the remains of a peafowl, hares and rats at other sites at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. In one of the chambers of the Great *Stūpa* I found the burnt bones of a peafowl lying in a heap of charcoal as though the body of the bird had been cremated on the spot before the chamber was filled in with earth. Again in one of the cells belonging to Monastery II we came across an earthenware pot full of bones of hares and field-rats including jaw bones, teeth and a few complete skulls of the rats. In this case, the bones had not been burnt. Hares, field-rats and peafowl are still common at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, but sambur are rare these days, although there are plenty in the surrounding Nallamalais in the direction of Śrīśailam. The field-rats are friendly little animals and I had several living in my tent during the rainy season. They are not unlike the European Dormouse only about twice as large, and like the Dormouse, dislike cold or wet weather and become quite torpid when very cold so that they are easily caught and handled. One built its nest in the pocket of an old tweed coat I had hanging up in my tent

and I did not discover the fact until one evening I put the coat on and my hand into the pocket when out jumped six baby rats. They hid under the boxes in my tent but were all back again in their nest next morning so I left them there till the rains ceased when I turned them out into a field of maize opposite my camp but some of them returned at night from time to time and seemed to know they were safer in my tent than outside, as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is infested with snakes and I killed a cobra in my tent which in all probability, had come in after the field-rats.

We know that the hare was sacred to the Buddhists, and carved on one of the few slabs recovered from *Stūpa* 9 is a charming picture of the *Sasa Jātaka* in which the Bodhisattva appears on earth in the form of a hare (Plate XVIII (*b*)). The scene takes place near a village on the Ganges. In the background is a shrine at the foot of a rocky hill like those around Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and inhabited by panther, while on the right we see the hare talking to his three friends the monkey, an otter, and a jackal. The conventional trees and pair of antelope denote that this incident took place in light jungle at the foot of the hills. On the left, Sakka disguised as a poor old hungry Brahman is depicted approaching the group of animals to whom he explains that he has no food and asks them to assist him which they agree to do. On the left we see the three animals bringing their gifts of food to Sakka, the monkey brings a cluster of mangoes, the otter a fish and the jackal a pot of ghee stolen from the village, while the poor little hare being herbivorous has nothing to offer but himself so jumps into the fire which the old Brahman had kindled to cook his evening meal. It is a pretty story of self-sacrifice and a fitting subject to decorate a *stūpa* of this curious kind, the only example so far discovered in India.

Two foot-print slabs (*patipadā*) were found near *Stūpa* 9 and a third near Monastery II. The latter is the best and most interesting of the three and measures about 12 inches by 9 inches and is 2 inches in thickness. Engraved along the tips of the toes is an inscription which Dr. Vogel says records the gift of the *patipadā* by a woman named " Buddhi the sister of Moda the Saka ". The mention of a Saka or Scythian is particularly interesting. The Scythian warrior portrayed on one of the pillars belonging to the Palace Site illustrated in Plate X (*c*), perhaps indicates that Scythian soldiers were employed by some of the Āndhra kings as a royal bodyguard and thus, there may have been a small colony of Scythians at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the second and third centuries A.D. The *patipadā* in question is richly carved and more ornamental than most slabs of this kind (Plate XIX (*a*)). This Plate contains also a scene (Fig. (*b*)) portraying the conversion of the Śākya princes depicted on a slab from *Stūpa* 3.

CARVED SLABS.

The carved vertical slabs adorning the drum of a decorated *stūpa* were usually about 2 feet wide, the same height as the drum and fixed to the latter in mortar. The favourite scenes depicted on these particular slabs were generally representations of *stūpas*, while those ornamenting the *āyaka*-platforms

portrayed scenes or symbols denoting one of the leading events in the life of the Buddha, such as a wheel, a throne, or a *stūpa*. Above the drum, the slabs decorating the base of the dome were also about 2 feet in width and from 3 to 4 feet in height and cut on the curve, that is, with a slightly convex front and a concave back to fit the curved surface of the dome. A few of these curved slabs are shown in the foreground of Plate VIII (*d*). The front of the slab was divided into two or three separate horizontal panels with an ornamental border at the top which formed the frieze around the dome and also denoted the cessation of the stone work, as above this line, all ornamentation was in plaster owing to the difficulty of fixing stone slabs to the curved surface of the dome. Sometimes, the frieze was built separately with smaller horizontal slabs specially cut for the purpose and the favourite design for such slabs was the festoon device illustrated in Plate XIV (*d*). It represents a band of *yakshas* (demi-gods) carrying an enormous festoon or garland to decorate the dome of the *stūpa*. The same ornament was also used for the copings of the railings and originated in Gandhāra.

As mentioned above, most of the scenes depicted in the panels adorning these upright slabs illustrate stories from the *Jātaka*, or the leading events in the life of the Great Teacher and in order to understand and appreciate these remarkable 'pictures in stone', one must be conversant with the salient features of the ancient legends concerning the Buddha's miraculous birth, his life and his death. A good account of these things will be found in Kern's ***Manual of Indian Buddhism***, pp. 12 to 46, where the reader will find full references to the authorities for the various episodes briefly related below and illustrated with photographs of the finest Buddhist sculptures discovered in Southern India.

Gautama, the sage of the Śākyas (Śākyamuni), generally known as Buddha or the Buddha, because he claimed to have attained supreme knowledge of things spiritual (*bodhi*) while meditating under the sacred tree at Gayā, was born on earth about the year 562 B.C., in the Lumbīnī Garden near the ancient town of Kapilavastu in the Nepāl Tarai. Prior to his birth on earth, he was a Bodhisattva or potential Buddha in the Tushita Heaven, where he was exhorted by the gods to become a saviour of mankind (Plate XIX (*c*)). Before consenting he had to determine the time and place of his advent on earth, the family to which he should belong, the mother who should bear him, and the time when her life should end. His father he resolved, should be Suddhodana, a chief of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu, and his mother queen Māyā, who should die seven days after his birth. Accordingly, he left the Tushita Heaven, and was conceived by queen Māyā in a dream, in which she saw the future Buddha descending from Heaven in the form of a white elephant (Plate XIX (*d*)). When the queen related her dream to Suddhodana, he summoned the Brahman soothsayers to interpret it, who declared that she had conceived a son destined to become either a Universal Monarch (*chakravartin*) or a Buddha. During the period of pregnancy four celestials guarded the Bodhisattva and Māyā from harm. This scene, known generally as "Casting the Horoscope", is shown in Plate XX (*d*). On the left are Suddhodana, queen Māyā and female attendants. The four seated figures on the right apparently represent the four

celestials who are watching over Māyā, while an old *rishi*, or a soothsayer, is depicted below. The central figure with a tall Hindu head dress and holding an ornamental water-pot is meant for Indra.

The birth took place in the Lumbinī Garden near Kapilavastu, Māyā being delivered standing beneath the shade of a Śāla tree, a branch of which bent down for her to hold. The chief *devas* including Indra, who supplied the holy water to bathe the infant, were in attendance. The child was received from the mother's right side by the Guardian Deities of the Four Quarters. Immediately after birth the Bodhisattva stood erect, faced in all directions, and after making seven steps along the cloth on which he was standing, exclaimed "I am the foremost of the world". The "Nativity and the Seven Steps" are portrayed in the bas-relief illustrated in Plate XX (*b*). On the left is queen Māyā standing under the Śāla tree with two female attendants. The Bodhisattva is represented by a royal umbrella flanked by two fly-whisks. Below is the water-pot denoting the child's first bath, while on the right, holding the long cloth on which the child made the seven steps, are the Guardian Deities of the Four Quarters. It will be noticed that the "Seven Steps" are represented by seven tiny footprints on the cloth.

The birth of the Bodhisattva was the occasion of great rejoicings in the Heaven of the Thirtythree Gods, and the holy seer Asita, becoming aware of these rejoicings predicted that the child would be the future Buddha. On the day when the child was born there was a great manifestation of good omens, so that Suddhodana summoned the soothsayers and addressing them said "With respect to this child, what are the fortunate and what are the evil signs?" In reply they said "According to the records of previous saints the signs are especially fortunate. If he remains in secular life he will become a Universal Monarch, but if he leaves his home he will become a Buddha". At this time the seer Asita, coming from afar, arrived at the palace and requested to see Suddhodana, the king overjoyed, went out to meet and reverence him, and requested him to be seated. Asita then explains that the gods had informed him of the birth of the Bodhisattva and he had come himself to behold the child before he died, exclaiming, "alas that my age prevents me from seeing him attain Buddhahood". The child was then brought in by an attendant and shown to Asita who is portrayed as an old man seated on the floor of the palace (Plate XXI (*a*)). The child is represented by a pair of little footprints on the long cloth held by the attendant, while Suddhodana is portrayed seated on a throne with queen Māyā standing alongside with raised hands in front of Asita and the child. The scene on the left of this panel occurred outside the town of Kapilavastu at a Brahmanical temple. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang has left us a brief description of this episode, he says—"Outside the city gate is a temple of Īśvara (Śiva), and in the temple is a stone image of the deity represented in a rising and bent position. This is the temple which the royal prince when an infant entered." King Suddhodana was returning from the Lumbinī Garden, after having gone to meet the baby prince and while passing the temple the king said, "This temple is noted for its many miracles. The Śākya children

who here seek divine protection always obtain what they ask; so we must take the royal prince there and offer our worship to the deity". The nurse carrying the child in her arms then entered the shrine and immediately the stone image of the deity came to life, raised itself and bowed to the prince. As soon as the prince left, the image again assumed its original form and position (Plate XXI (*a*)).

Suddhodana who naturally desired that his son should succeed him as Rāja of the Śākya clan, was much troubled by the prediction that the child would eventually become a Buddha and leave his home, so he enquired from the soothsayers the nature of the signs or the sights which would induce the young prince to renounce the world. The answer was, four sights: an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a monk. Thenceforth, the king took precautions that his son should not come into contact with any of these sights, and did his utmost to attract the young man to worldly things and he spent the early part of his life midst the pleasures of an Oriental court. At the age of sixteen, the young prince was married to a Koliya princess named Yaśodharā who bore him a son, Rāhula by name. According to the legends, the Bodhisattva was a young man of remarkable prowess, excelling in archery and other manly sports, and expert in every art. Mindful of the prophecy regarding the future, his father surrounded him with every sort of luxury and continued to keep from him the four sights which might encourage him to adopt an ascetic life. But in spite of this, on successive occasions when driving in the palace grounds with his faithful groom Chhanda, the gods caused to appear before him visions of an old man, a sick man, and a corpse. Alarmed by these sights, the prince enquired the meaning of them, and on learning the truth concerning old age, sickness and death, was plunged in grief. Then followed the fourth and last vision, that of a holy and happy ascetic, which made a deep impression on his mind and showed him how, by renouncing the world, he could rise superior to the ills he had witnessed. Accordingly, having become conscious that all mundane things are subject to decay, he could no longer find any happiness in sensual pleasures and royal pomp, so he resolved to forsake his home and take refuge in solitary meditation and lead the life of a hermit. In the middle of the night he bade his sleeping wife and child a silent farewell, then told his groom Chhanda to saddle his steed Kanthaka and rode out of the town attended by heavenly beings, who silenced the neighing of the horse and held up his hoofs, lest any one should be roused by the sound and thus prevent his departure. This was the "Great Renunciation" which he made at the age of twenty-nine. After crossing the river Anomā, Gautama dismounted and gave his jewelled ornaments to his groom, and then, drawing his sword he cut off his long hair and cast it along with his jewelled turban into the air, saying as he did so, "If I am destined to become a Buddha, let it remain in the air; if not, let it fall to the ground". The hair and turban soared upwards and were borne away on a golden tray to the Heaven of the Thirtythree gods (*Trayastriṁśa*), where they became an object of worship to the deities. Then Gautama exchanged garments with the angel Ghaṭikāra, who appeared to him in the guise of a poor hunter, and having sent back Chhanda

with the horse to announce to his father that he had forsaken the world, he went forth alone and on foot to Rājagṛiha. The "Great Renunciation" or "Going forth" is shown in Plate XXI (*b*). On the left, we see Gautama giving his ornaments to Chhanda and bidding him return with the horse to Kapilavastu. Standing behind the Bodhisattva is the hunter with whom he exchanges garments. Three of the gods wearing jewelled turbans and with hands raised in adoration look on and await the hair-cutting episode so that they may bear away the treasure to their celestial abode. In the right-hand corner of the panel Chhanda and the horse are depicted returning home. Unfortunately, the upper panel is missing, but when complete it probably depicted the same incident as that shown in Plate XXII (*a*), the "Transporatation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven".

At Rājagṛiha one of the largest and most important cities of ancient India, Gautama was kindly received by king Bimbisāra who asked him to remain there and as an inducement, even offered him his kingdom, but the Bodhisattva refused and pursued his way to Uravilvā, a village near Gayā in Bīhar, and there he subjected himself to the severest penances for six years. At the end of which time he found that the enlightenment that he was seeking was not to be obtained by mortification of the flesh, and accordingly he returned to his former mode of life as a mendicant. Thereupon his five ascetic companions lost faith in him, and leaving him, went to the Deer Park near Benares. Gautama then wandered on to Gayā, and came to the famous *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*), which thenceforth was to be known as the Bodhi tree (tree of enlightenment). It was here, under the shade of this venerable tree that the *Sambodhi* or "perfect enlightenment" of the Buddha took place. Then followed the assault and temptation of Māra, the "Evil One", who tried by every manner of violence to divert the Buddha from his purpose. So furious and terrible was the onslaught of his demon-hosts, that the very *devas* who attended the Buddha fled in dismay. Alone the Buddha remained steadfast and immovable on his throne under the tree, undaunted by Māra's violence. Failing in this, Māra deputed his lovely daughters to try and tempt the saint, but they too failed to move him from his divine purpose, and retired from the attack discomfited and ashamed (Plate XXII (*b*)). In this sculpture, Māra is shown on the left above the elephant's head gazing at the Buddha, while two of Māra's beautiful daughters are depicted close to the saint's throne. The other figures represent Māra's demon-hosts. Having failed in their attack on the Buddha, they all retire thoroughly subdued. This is portrayed on the right side of the panel. It was at Gayā, where the Buddha was protected from the rain by the coils and hood of the Nāga king Muchalinda who dwelt in a neighbouring lake (Plate XXIII (*b*)).

After attaining complete enlightenment the Buddha fasted for fortynine days at Gayā, debating with himself whether it might not be a waste of time and effort to attempt to make known to mankind the profound truths which he himself had at last grasped. While thus in doubt, Brahmā and other deities appeared to him and entreated him to go forth into the world and show mankind

the way to salvation, Plate XXIII (*a*). Prevailed upon by these prayers, the Buddha pondered as to whom he should first proclaim his gospel, and decided to seek out the five ascetics who had formerly been his companions at Uravilvā. Accordingly, he proceeded to the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Benares and there delivered to the chosen five his first sermon, or, to use the technical term of the Buddhists, "set in motion the wheel of the law" (Plate XXIV (*a*)). Hence the symbol of the first sermon became a wheel, which is usually shown set up on a throne, or a pillar. In the more mature reliefs, like the example shown here, the locality where the episode took place is generally indicated by two deer in the foreground. Of the five great events in the life history of the Buddha, the "First Sermon" and "The Death" are the most frequently portrayed in the sculptures. The Death or *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha is represented by his *stūpa*, with attending worshippers, both human and divine. The former are depicted bringing offerings to the shrine and are grouped near the gateways of the *stūpa*, while the celestial beings are shown carrying banners and garlands and flying around the summit of the *stūpa* (Plate XI (*c*)). In this example, two pillars surmounted by wheels are depicted standing on each side of the entrance. From the style of the little brackets in the form of *yakshiṇīs* attached to the capitals of these pillars, they appear to be meant to represent wooden pillars. No remains of stone pillars of this kind were found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Plate XXIV (*b*) depicts the Buddha holding two relic caskets before a group of Nāgas and (*c*) an unidentified sculpture from *Stūpa* 3.

Pilasters.—The junction of the *āyaka*-platforms with the drums of the decorated *stūpas* was marked by a narrow stone pilaster resembling a stele and decorated with bas-relief carving (Plate XXV (*b*) and (*c*)). These stelae were never more than one foot in width, about two inches in thickness and the same height as the drum of the *stūpa* to which they belonged. A number of these stones were found but mostly broken specimens, the best example being the one illustrated in Plate XXV (*b*) and (*c*). This slab is divided into three panels surmounted by a representation of a *stūpa*. In the bottom panel we have what appears to be a battle scene in which a prince seems to have had his horse killed under him, since it is shown lying on its back with its legs in the air. In the next panel the prince is depicted being escorted to a palace in the doorway of which stands a lady, while the upper panel shows the interior of the palace with the prince seated on a throne with his consort beside him. At the foot of the throne is a woman and a child playing with a pet ram of the hornless breed but with a well-developed mane (Plate XXVI (*a*)). This particular scene occurs in two other sculptures recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Plate XXVI (*b*) and (*c*)) and must portray some story well-known in the Āndhra country in early times. There is not the slightest doubt that the animal portrayed represents a pet lamb or ram, probably the latter, as the mane is clearly shown in each sculpture. So far, I have been unable to find anyone who could identify this remarkable scene. A good example of a horned ram is shown in Plate IX (*d*). In the East, the ram symbolizes strength and physical endurance, and the horns are decorative in form as well as symbolic in character. In the Himalayas,

the picturesque wooden temples of Kulu and Sarāj are often decorated with the horns of ibex, goats and wild sheep as a protection against the "evil eye". The horns are usually placed above a temple entrance in the same manner as country people in England hang up horseshoes over doorways for a similar purpose.

ĀYAKA-CORNICE STONES.

Of the many beautiful and valuable antiquities discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa none are more interesting than the long stone beams which formed the cornice stones of the more ornate *āyaka*-platforms (Plate XXVII[1] (*b*) and (*c*)). They are monoliths cut from single blocks of white or grey limestone resembling marble in appearance but softer in texture and easier to work. The front surface only is carved and their length varies according to that of the platforms to which they belonged and they are usually about one foot square in thickness. The carved surface is divided into a series of rectangular panels illustrating stories from the *Jātaka*, or scenes from the life of the Buddha. The ends of the stones project outwards and are carved in the form of brackets ornamented with figures of *yakshas*, both male and female standing on *makaras* or water-monsters, which gives the beam a very wooden appearance resembling the top rails of the wooden thrones depicted in some of the sculptures illustrating palace interiors. The panels portraying the different scenes are separated from each other by little vertical panels containing bas-relief figures of a pair of royal lovers, *yakshas*, or *nāgas*. These figures are purely decorative and have no connection with the stories illustrated in the larger panels. Below the panels is a row of modillions in the form of tiny leogryphs extending from end to end of the beam. This ornament when found carved on a stone from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is a sure indication that it originally formed part of an *āyaka*-cornice. The side cornice stones are of course, much shorter than the front beams but they are decorated in the same manner. Unfortunately, most of these long cornice stones were recovered in a broken and mutilated condition and the only perfect specimen is illustrated in Plate XXVII (*b*). Two good examples of side cornice stones are shown in Plate XXIV (*a*) and (*b*).

The six beautiful panels illustrated in Plates XXVIII and XXIX, are all carved on the same cornice stone and portray the chief events in the life of the Buddha. The scenes read from right to left and the right end of the beam is shown in Plate XXVIII (*a*). The projecting bracket is ornamented with a well-executed figure of a *yakshiṇī* standing on the back of a *makara* under the shade of a tree. The *makara* appears as half water-monster and half lion. The *makara* has played an important part in Indian symbolism from very early times and in mediæval iconography is primarily the cognizance of Kāma, the Indian Cupid, also as the vehicle of the river-goddess Gaṅgā, whose sister Yamunā is similarly portrayed standing on a tortoise. On the left we have a small panel depicting a serpent king and his consort. These figures are purely decorative and have no connection with the scenes portrayed in the larger panels.

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[1] Plate XXVII (*a*) shows an unidentified panel from Stūpa 2.

The sadly mutilated bas-relief illustrated in Plate XXVIII (*b*) portrays the "Nativity and Seven Steps", which must have been a fine piece of work when complete. On the left is the usual vertical panel separating the chief scenes from each other. These two very decorative figures appear to represent a pair of lovers, perhaps meant for *yakshas*. The female figure holds a mirror in her left hand. The next scene is a particularly fine rendering of the "Going Forth" or "Great Renunciation" (Plate XXVIII (*c*)). It is interesting to note the manner in which the *devas* are depicted holding up the hoofs of the horse Kanthaka, just as we find in some of the Gandhāra sculptures portraying the same episode. The faithful groom Chhanda is depicted running ahead of his master's horse, while an attendant at the back holds a royal umbrella over Gautama's head. The figures on the right represent a chauri-bearer and a link-man to indicate that the incident took place at night, while on the left we see the *devas* expressing their approval of Gautama's action.

Unfortunately, the beautiful sculpture portraying "Māra's Assault" is badly damaged. The relief depicts the attack, before the "Enlightenment", by the forces of Māra, the Indian Satan, while the Buddha was seated on the *vajrāsana* under the Bodhi tree at Gayā. Māra is shown on the left standing in a defiant attitude while two of his lovely daughters are portrayed making overtures to the Buddha who sits placidly on his throne under the tree. Two hideous little goblins are shown at the foot of the throne spitting fire at the saint. On the right, we see Māra's daughters retiring subdued and ashamed. The tall male figure with a mighty bow is presumably meant for one of Māra's lieutenants (Plate XXIX (*a*)). The two remaining scenes belonging to this cornice stone portray the "Turning of the Wheel of the Law" in the Deer Park at Sārnāth near Benares, (Plate XXIX (*b*)) and the Buddha's death represented by a *stūpa* surrounded by worshippers both human and celestial (Plate XXIX (*c*)).

Plate XXX (*a*) *and* (*b*).—The two bas-reliefs shown in this Plate are carved on a cornice stone recovered from *Stūpa* 9. The scene shown in (*a*) is carved on the right end of the beam and represents a palace interior showing a prince and his consort seated on a throne surrounded by six female attendants. It will be noticed that the entrance to the apartment is guarded by a female warrior armed with a short broad-sword of semi-Roman pattern. Similar female guards are depicted in some of the Gandhāra sculptures where they are usually depicted holding spears instead of swords. The scene probably represents Gautama in his father's palace prior to the "Great Renunciation". Figure (*b*) of the same plate portrays a *Chakravartin* (Universal Monarch) surrounded by the seven jewels (*sapta ratnāni*), *viz.*, the best specimens of each kind that appear during the reign; the jewel of the wheel, of the elephant, of the war-horse, of woman, of the pearl, of the general, of the minister. All are shown in the sculpture, the pearl in the form of a pendant for a necklace is shown next to the wheel, the latter being the most important jewel of all and from which a *Chakravartin* derives his title and power. The general is shown standing on the proper left of the monarch and dressed in semi-classical robes. The minister stands next to the general while the chief wives are shown on the monarch's right.

Plate XXX (*c*).—The sculpture (*c*) is a portion of a broken panel recovered from *Stūpa* 2 and portrays a king or prince crushing a Śiva *liṅga* with his right heel. Coiled round the base of the *liṅga* is a seven-headed serpent depicted writhing in anger and pain. On the proper right, a group of Brahmans are shown protesting at the king's action. The city wall and gateway denote that the incident took place outside the town, or the doorway may be meant to represent the entrance to the temple from which the *liṅga* has been cast forth. There seems little doubt that the scene represents a king denouncing Brahmanism. Another representation of the same episode is illustrated in the bas-relief (*a*) of Plate XXXI. Here the royal personage is shown as a *Chakravartin* with his general, ministers and umbrella-bearer in attendance. This sculpture is carved on the same cornice stone as that illustrated in Plate XXX (*a*) and (*b*) and came from *Stūpa* 9, the *stūpa* in which the animal remains were found.

Plate XXXI (*b*) *and* (*c*).—The two bas-reliefs illustrated in this Plate are also carved on the cornice stone from *Stūpa* 9 mentioned above. Figure (*b*) illustrates the story of the "Conversion of the Yaksha Āḷavaka" which is described in detail in Part II of this work. In the small panel to the right we see the Yaksha Āḷavaka with two of his wives. The bas-relief (*c*) shows the other end of the cornice stone ornamented with a beautiful vase ornament, an emblem of fertility, and a scene representing the serpent king Muchalinda protecting the Buddha from the rain at Gayā. The lake in which the mighty serpent dwelt is indicated by the wavy lines above his hooded head, and the piece of matting (*tatti*) denotes that the incident took place during the rains. It is difficult to say who the four figures to the right of the screen are supposed to be, perhaps pilgrims stopping on their way to witness the astounding miracle.

Plate XXXII (*a*) *and* (*b*).—The six sculptures shown in Plates XXXII and XXXIII are all carved on the same cornice stone. The first scene (*a*) appears to represent prince Siddhārtha stringing the mighty bow to show his skill in archery. This episode happened when Siddhārtha was living in his father's palace and before his marriage to the princess Yaśodharā. When the prince was asked by his father to select a wife, his choice fell on the princess Yaśodharā, but the latter's father, the Śākya Daṇḍapāṇi, refused to give his daughter unless the prince could prove his proficiency in the arts and manly sports. Prince Siddhārtha proclaimed that he would show his skill in the various arts on a certain day, and after exhibiting his marvellous proficiency, the turn came to archery. A bow which belonged to the prince's grandfather and which no one in the land could string, was being worshipped in the local temple. This was produced and the prince was requested to string it. He not only strung it with ease, but performed various feats of archery which amazed everyone present, and thus he won the beautiful Yaśodharā as his bride. If this identification is correct, the bas-relief depicts the prince examining the bow before stringing it. As this event happened before his espousal of Yaśodharā, the two ladies seated on either side of him and the women standing in the background must represent the ladies of his father's court.

In the next panel (*b*) we have a representation of the "Subjugation of the Elephant Nālāgiri", a very popular story and one frequently portrayed in Buddhist art. The event took place while the Buddha was staying at Rājagṛiha. Devadatta, the cousin and rival of the Buddha, made a conspiracy with prince Ajātaśatru, to kill King Bimbisāra and the Buddha, so that they might usurp the places of the king and the Buddha. The plot was successful so far as Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru were concerned; and Devadatta secured the latter's co-operation in trying to take the life of the Buddha. After being unsuccessful in two attempts, Devadatta caused the elephant-keepers to let loose a fierce elephant named Nālāgiri maddened with liquor, in the path of the Buddha. The monks tried to persuade the Buddha to turn back but he declined. The elephant rushed furiously forward towards the Buddha, trampling to death all those who stood in its path. On reaching the Buddha who remained standing perfectly calm, the elephant suddenly became subdued and bowed down before him.

The sculpture shows the Buddha calmly going forward with a company of monks towards the elephant which is shown twice over, first as charging madly down the road trampling on unfortunate men and women who stood in its way, and secondly, as quite subdued and bowing down at the feet of the Great Teacher.

Plates XXXII (c) and XXXIII (a).—I have not been able to identify the two scenes shown in these Plates. In (*c*) we have another representation of a *Chakravartin* surrounded by "the seven jewels" and a group of people who appear to be begging some boon from the monarch, but it is not clear what the story is about.

Plate XXXIII (b) and (c).—Here again, are two more sculptures which have not yet been identified. They illustrate the same incidents as those which appear on the pilaster shown in Plate XXV (*b*).

PART II.

THE BUDDHA DĪPAṄKARA'S PREDICTION REGARDING GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

Plate XXXIV (*a*).—This story, which relates how the Being who was to become Gautama Buddha, made the first declaration of his intention of attaining Supreme Wisdom, and received the prediction from the Buddha of that world period that his intentions would be fulfilled, is a popular one among all sects of the Buddhists; and is found in the writings of the Theravādins as well as those of the Mahāyānists. Though the main incident of the story is the same, the details, however, vary in the different versions.

According to the Pali *Nidānakathā*, the Bodhisattva was born, inculculable æons ago, as a Brahman named Sumedha. He gave up his wealth and, retiring into the forest, lived the life of an ascetic. Once Sumedha came to a city called Rammavatī and found the people busy preparing the place to receive Dīpaṅkara, the Buddha who was then proclaiming the Truth to the world. Sumedha asked for, and was given, a portion of the road to be cleaned and repaired; but before he could finish his task, the Buddha came along with his disciples. There was a muddy spot on the portion of the road allotted to Sumedha and rather than let the Buddha walk over the mud, he lay down prostrate so that the Teacher might walk over his body without soiling his sacred feet. Sumedha made a vow that, by this merit, he would in the future become a Buddha and Dīpaṅkara Buddha predicted that this would come to pass. Legends also state that the Being who was to become Yaśodharā, the wife of the Bodhisattva when he was a prince in the last birth, was present on this occasion and, offering eight handfuls of flowers to Buddha Dīpaṅkara, vowed that she would become the wife of Sumedha in his future states of existence.

According to the Sanskrit version,[1] the Buddha Dīpaṅkara was at a city called Dīpavatī and at that time the Bodhisattva was a Brahman student named Sumati. From the ruler of the country, Sumati received five great gifts, which he accepted save one, namely a virgin. The girl, seeing Sumati, was enamoured of him and requested him to accept her; but, being disappointed, went to the city of Dīpavatī and, giving her ornaments to a florist, asked the latter to supply her with flowers every day to be offered at the temple of the gods. Sumati, in order to get from Dīpaṅkara Buddha the interpretation of certain dreams he had, came to Dīpavatī and went in search of flowers to be offered to the Buddha. The king had invited the Buddha on that day and in this connection had requisitioned the whole stock of the florists in the city and Sumati could find flowers only with the girl whom he had rejected. She gave some of her flowers to him only after striking a hard bargain, that is, that she would be his wife in his subsequent births. In the meantime, Dīpaṅkara Buddha came forth in the street

[1] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 246ff.

attended by a numerous retinue, the king himself holding an umbrella above his head. Seeing Sumati, Dīpaṅkara resolved to proclaim the young man's virtue to the world and caused a shower of rain to fall. Sumati and the girl threw their flowers over the head of the Buddha and they remained there like an umbrella. The rain had caused a pool of mud to form in the path of the Buddha and Sumati, as did Sumedha in the Pali version, prostrated himself, stretching his hair forward so that the Buddha might pass without soiling his feet. A fellow student of Sumati who was present there gave vent to his anger at seeing the Buddha treading over the locks of a Brahman student and thus qualified himself for a period in hell. The Bodhisattva's vow, the Buddha's prediction and the rest follow as in the Pali version.

This story has been illustrated in many of the bas-reliefs found in the Gandhāra[1] country and, as may be expected, the version which the artists have utilised is that found in Sanskrit Buddhist books. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture before us, the same version seems to have been followed. The treatment of the subject by the Āndhra school, while agreeing in the main with that of the Gandhāra artists, shows important divergences in detail. The moment selected by both schools for sculptural representation is the dramatic one of the Bodhisattva's throwing himself at the feet of the Buddha. Our sculpture is much damaged; but the figures of the principal characters of the story are all preserved and can be easily recognised. The Buddha Dīpaṅkara occupies the centre of the composition and from the two lotuses beneath his feet it can be inferred that he is in the act of walking. He is attended on the left by Vajrapāṇi, whose head is broken off, and on the right is another mutilated figure which may have represented the king, who according to the text, was holding an umbrella over the Buddha's head. In the Gandhāra sculptures representing the story, the flowers thrown by the Bodhisattva are shown as resting on the edge of the halo above the Buddha's head; but as the halo in our sculpture is partly damaged we cannot be certain whether this detail was there. The figure prostrate at the Buddha's feet is of course that of Sumati or Sumedha. Unlike the Gandhāra reliefs, his hair is not shown stretched forward, as the text would require. Perhaps the moment illustrated by the artist is just as the Bodhisattva was throwing himself down before he could stretch his hair forward for the Buddha to walk on. The female on the right side of the composition, in a surprised attitude, is no doubt the girl who figures in the story. The figure of a *gaṇa* is shown near the head of the Bodhisattva, with hands uplifted and clasped together. This is perhaps meant to represent the fact that supernatural beings applauded the act of devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of the Bodhisattva. The damaged figure of a man standing on the extreme left of the composition, holding what looks like a ladle in his hands, probably depicts the fellow-student of Sumati who reviled the Buddha. In the Gandhāra sculptures the Buddha Dīpaṅkara is shown attended by a monk. The damaged portion of our sculpture may have contained such a figure behind the Buddha.

[1] See Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra* Tome I, figs. 139-141.

THE ADMISSION OF THE SIX SĀKYA PRINCES AND THE BARBER UPĀLI TO THE ORDER.

Plate XXXIV (*b*).—This panel shows the Buddha seated on a throne and attended on the left by a number of monks. On the right there is shown a personage seated on a stool, his head being shaved preparatory to be admitted to the Order. In addition to the person who is performing the shaving operation, five other persons, one of them bearing a sword, are shown to the right of the Buddha.

As it is a scene depicting the admission of a certain person to the *saṅgha*, the relief can be taken as having some connection with that preceding or following it on the same cornice stone. The preceding panel, as we have seen, illustrates the prediction of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara and, according to the texts, the Bodhisattva asked for, and received, admission to the Order immediately after the prediction. And the scene in this panel may possibly illustrate the admission of the Bodhisattva to the religious life in the dispensation of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. The panel which follows depicts the flight of the Buddha with Nanda through the air; and it is also possible that the sculpture under discussion illustrates the event which led to this episode, namely the ordination of Nanda.

But, if our identification of the first and fourth panels of this cornice be found tenable, it appears that the scenes depicted on the various panels have no relation to one another and it is possible that this relief shows neither of the above mentioned ordinations, but quite a different one. The legends[1] state that on the occasion of the Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu, after his Enlightenment, six Śākya princes, among whom were Ānanda, who later became the Buddha's personal attendant and favourite disciple, and Devadatta, the Buddhist Judas, desired to join the Order. They gave their ornaments to the barber Upāli who, thinking that he would be suspected by the other Śākyas, also determined to join the Order in company with the princes. As there are six personages in all depicted as being ready to be admitted to the Order, in addition to the person shaving who may be identified with Upāli, it is reasonable to identify this scene with that episode. In the background is shown an object resembling the crest ornament of a prince but not worn by any of the persons. This possibly represents the ornaments discarded and given to Upāli by the princes, and were, in turn discarded by the barber, too.

THE CONVERSION OF NANDA.

Plate XXXV (*a*).—The scene depicted in this panel has already been identified by Prof. Vogel as the conversion of Nanda,[2] the half-brother of the Buddha,[2] who was admitted to the Order on the occasion of the Buddha's first visit to Kapilavastu after the Enlightenment. Nanda received the ordination not of his own inclination but in order to avoid displeasing the Buddha. He therefore did not practise the religious exercises required of a monk; but was pining away

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[1] Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Vol. I, p. 200.

[2] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1930*, p. 4.

in grief at the separation from his beautiful wife Sundarī[1] whom he had but recently espoused. In order to take Nanda's thoughts away from Sundarī and to lead him to the realisation of the Truth, the Buddha adopted the following device. By his supernatural power he took Nanda on a visit to heaven and on the way, in flying over the Himalayas, he drew Nanda's attention to a she-monkey blinded in one eye. On arrival in heaven, the enchanting celestial nymphs came to pay homage to the Buddha who asked Nanda what he thought of them in comparison with his own wife. Nanda replied that there was as much difference between the nymphs and Sundarī as there was between the latter and the monkey. Nanda was smitten with desire for the nymphs and the Buddha told him that the only way to achieve this purpose was to perform his religious exercises in real earnest. On returning to earth, Nanda applied himself vigorously to meditation, with the object of attaining the company of the nymphs; but the result was that he became an *arhat*, and his desire for the nymphs as well as for Sundarī, ceased to exit. This story, which is the subject of the beautiful Sanskrit poem *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghosha, has been illustrated in the bas-reliefs of Gandhāra and Amarāvatī as well as in the paintings of Ajanta.[2]

The upper right hand corner of the panel shows the Buddha, flying through the air, taking Nanda with him, on his visit to heaven. Below these two figures is shown the monkey seated on a rock by the side of a pool of lotuses. The left side of the composition shows the *devas* and the *apsaras* sporting themselves in the gardens of heaven. Two *devas* have climbed a celestial tree, the leaves and fruits of which are costly robes and ornaments. These they are plucking and handing over to the nymphs seated and standing below the tree. One of the *devas* is raising his hands in adoration and welcoming the Buddha to heaven. Nanda, from behind the Buddha, is looking intently, and with great desire, at the nymphs.

This panel is the third of a series of four contained on one cornice-stone and Dr. Vogel has expressed his opinion[3] that all the four panels illustrate the story of Nanda. We have, however, identified the scenes depicted on the first and fourth panels, with a fair degree of certainty, with other episodes occurring in Buddhist legends, having nothing to do with the story of Nanda. It is therefore doubtful whether the whole cornice-stone illustrates the story of Nanda; but there is a possibility of the second panel having some connection with it.

THE GIFT OF EARTH.

Plate XXXV (b).—The story illustrated in this bas-relief appears to be that of the merit performed by the Emperor Aśoka, in a previous birth, resulting in his obtaining dominion over the earth. According to this story, as given in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 364ff.), the Buddha, while staying in the Bamboo Grove at Rājagṛiha set out one day towards the city for begging alms. In the Buddha's

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[1] Called Janapada-Kalyāṇi (the Beauty of the Land) in the Pali texts.

[2] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology* for 1930, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*

path were two children playing, building houses out of sand. One of these two children, named Jaya, was the son of the chief house-holder in the city. The other child, the son of an ordinary citizen, was named Vijaya. The child Jaya, on seeing the Buddha, put some sand, with which he was playing, into the Buddha's bowl, saying that he was giving (cakes made of) flour; and Vijaya, with folded hands, acquiesced in this gift. Jaya, as a result of this gift to the Buddha, set his mind on acquiring universal dominion over the earth and the Buddha predicted that the child's wish would come to pass and that, one hundred years after the Parinirvāṇa, he would be reborn as the mighty king Aśoka.

This episode has been illustrated in two Gandhāra reliefs[1] and the treatment of the subject by the Āndhra artists has certain resemblances with that adopted by the Græco-Buddhist sculptors, while differing in some particulars.

The right hand corner of the composition is occupied by the representation of a house with a vaulted roof. As this house is only slightly taller than the figures of men standing nearby, it may be taken as the house built by the children. Or else, it may represent the city gate of Rājagṛiha towards which the Buddha went on his begging tour. Standing by this building is a figure which may represent the Buddha. There is no halo round the head; but sometimes, in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculptures, the Buddha is represented without a halo. As the head of this figure is damaged, we cannot say whether the hair was shown in ringlets—another feature by which one can distinguish the Buddha from an ordinary monk in these sculptures. Assuming that the figure is that of the Buddha, he is shown holding the begging-bowl under his robe, and looking down with a kindly face on some children playing with their toys. To the right of the Buddha is a child playing with a toy cart, a classical toy in India, the plot of one of the best known Sanskrit dramas being centred round a toy of this description. It is noteworthy that in a Gandhāra relief from Yusufzai, now in the Calcutta Museum,[2] illustrating this episode, the same toy is figured in almost the same position as it occupies in this sculpture. The other toy shown is a horse on wheels, possibly meant for the wooden horse of Troy, suggesting Gandhāra influence. There are in all five children, four boys and a girl. The last is represented with a fully developed bust as that of a grown-up girl, that she is a child being shown by her diminutive size. This is probably the artist's way of indicating the sex of a female child. The most important among the children is evidently the one behind whom is a standing figure holding a fan. This personage is shown as having his gaze fixed on the child, and he is probably an attendant entrusted with his care. The child Jaya was, according to the text, the son of the principal house-holder of Rājagṛiha and would not have been allowed to run about the streets without some person to look after him. The child is lifting both hands; and seems as if he has already given the basketful of what appears to be cakes to the person who holds it in one hand, while, in the other, he is holding aloft an unidentified object appearing like a forked stick with a knob.

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[1] See Foucher, *op. cit.* figs. 255 and 256.

[2] Foucher, *op. cit.* fig. 255.

This person who, too, may have been an attendant of the child, or a *deva* attending, like Vajrapāṇi, on the Buddha, is shown as going forward towards the Buddha, to offer what he holds in the basket. In the Gandhāra sculptures depicting this story, the boy is himself putting his offering into the Buddha's begging-bowl which is held downwards. In this matter as well as in introducing a number of children not figuring in the story, the artist seems to have given free play to his fancy. The persons standing in the background, who are possibly attendants of the boys, or on-lookers, are watching the scene with surprise and respect at the forwardness of the boy in making such an unprecedented gift to the Buddha and the benevolence of the Master in accepting it.

PRINCE SIDDHĀRTHA IN THE PLEASURE GARDEN.

(*Plate XXXVI* (*a*)).—In this sculpture we see a noble-looking youth, presumably a prince, seated in the midst of a group of young women. The scene is laid out-doors, for the prince is seated on an improvised *āsana* on the ground. To the left of him, seated on stony ground, is a young damsel holding a flower in her hand. In the foreground is shown a pond in which a girl is swimming and sporting with a duck. Another girl, standing in the water up to the waist, is playfully throwing a garland of flowers at the prince. A couple standing in the water at the bottom right hand of the panel are enjoying themselves by drinking wine from the same cup. Behind, and on either side of the prince, are a crowd of girls holding various objects in their hands. Their sole object seems to be to amuse the prince ; but the disappointed looks on their faces show that they have not been successful. The prince does not seem to be taking any interest in the charms and blandishments of the young damsels around him ; but is deeply immersed in thought.

The scene depicted here would very well fit in with the story how Prince Siddhārtha, the Buddha-to-be, when he was taken to the pleasure garden against his will, after seeing for the first time an aged man and a sick man, was despondent, realising the suffering inherent in human nature, and how the young damsels of his court tried in vain to bring him back to the enjoyment of sensual pleasure. The fourth canto of Aśvaghosha's poem, the *Buddhacarita*, describes, in very vivid language, the attempts of the women to tempt the Bodhisattva and this sculpture might very well serve to illustrate some of the poet's descriptions.

An unidentified sculpture is also illustrated in this Plate (*b*).

THE NOVICE SUMANA AND THE NĀGA KING PAṆṆAKA.

(*Plate XXXVII* (*a*)).—This bas-relief seems to be a representation of the story of the novice Sumana and the Nāga king of Anotta Lake in the Himalayas. The story, which occurs in Buddhaghosa's Commentary to the Dhammapada[1], is briefly as follows :—

The Elder Anuruddha, the foremost among the Buddha's disciples of those who possessed Supernatural Vision, once spent the rainy season at a market

[1] Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, Vol. III, p. 270 ff.

town called Muṇḍa. He was cared for during his stay at the place by a householder named Mahā Muṇḍa who, when the Elder was about to depart, offered one of his two sons to be admitted to the Order. Anuruddha chose the younger boy, named Culla Sumana, who was only seven years of age at the time. Sumana attained Arhatship at 'the razor's edge', *i.e.*, while his head was being shaved preparatory to the donning of the yellow robe. A short while after this, Anuruddha began to suffer with indigestion which could only be cured by drinking water from the Anotatta Lake and the novice Sumana offered to fetch a jar of this water for his Master. The lake was the abode of the Nāga king Paṇṇaka who had on that day arranged to disport himself in the water in company with some dancing Nāgas. When the Nāga king saw the novice coming towards the lake through the air, he became very wrath thinking that the monk would spoil his sport, and determined to prevent the novice from removing any water he covered with his hood the whole of the lake. The novice explained his mission to the Nāga king; but the latter refused to give any water of his free will and challenged the novice to take away a jar of water if he could. The novice thereupon invited the gods of the whole universe to be witnesses, made the Nāga king repeat his challenge thrice before the assembled gods and, by his miraculous power, vanquished the Nāga and succeeded in taking a jar of water from the lake. He carried the jar of water to his Master who drank of it and was cured of his illness. The rest of the story does not concern us here.

The sculptor has selected the most dramatic moment in this story for representation in the relief. The centre of the relief is occupied by the figure of a monk depicted rising into the sky, holding, in one of his hands, a pot, presumably filled with water. On either side of the monk and in the foreground are figures of Nāgas and Nāgīs who are shown in anthropomorphic form, their serpent nature being indicated, as is common in the art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, by the hoods, multiple in the case of males and single in females, which forms a headdress. The Nāga on the extreme right of the sculpture, who is evidently Paṇṇaka, is looking up with an expression of mingled surprise and impotent rage at the monk who is ascending into the sky. The Nāgī to the left of the Nāga king is shown as if trying to soothe the anger of her lord, and two other Nāgas and a Nāgī on the right-hand side of the sculpture are gazing upwards as if surprised at the feat of the monk. The Nāga in the foreground is trying vainly to attack the monk with a club, and to the left of him is a Nāgī with her hands in an attitude of adoration towards the monk. The three Nāgas, one holding a club, and the Nāgī, depicted on the left side of the relief are looking helplessly towards the monk who has braved their powerful lord. Of the three figures in the foreground of the sculpture, only the upper part or the body above the waist, is shown. This denotes that they are emerging from the water and that the scene of the action was a lake.

The sculpture is somewhat damaged at the top and the head of the monk is missing. The monk, however, does not appear in the sculpture as a seven-year-old novice, as he was according to the legend. This discrepancy between the text and the sculpture may perhaps be due to the limitations in the skill of

the artist, or possibly due to the legend being known to the Buddhists of the Āndhra country in a version somewhat differing from that known to Buddhaghosa. Moreover, it must be noted that though the novice Sumana was, according to the text, only seven years of age when this incident took place, he had then already attained to the highest stage of spiritual advancement and was possessed of great miraculous power. His attainments, in this direction, were so great, in spite of his youth, that he was admitted to full membership of the Order at the age of seven, which as a rule was given to those who had attained their twentieth year—a privilege so great that it was granted to only one other novice in the whole history of the Buddhist Church. Sumana could therefore assume any form at will and, in the combat with the powerful Nāga, he probably did not appear in his natural form of a boy of seven years.

THE DEVAS CONGRATULATING THE BUDDHA AFTER THE ENLIGHTENMENT.

(*Plate XXXVII* (*b*)).—This sculpture shows the Buddha seated on a throne under a tree which, from its leaves, is clearly the pīpal tree at which he gained Omniscience. On either side of the Buddha's throne are various personages, apparently meant for *devas*, seated or standing, in attitudes of adoration. Two persons standing behind the Buddha are holding chauris.

The legends relating to the life of the Buddha state that immediately after the Enlightenment, when the hosts of Māra had been vanquished and put to flight, myriads of *devas* and other supernatural beings, inhabiting the whole universe, flocked to the Bodhi-tree and began paying homage to the Enlightened One, singing hymns of praise[1]. There is little doubt that the relief before us is an illustration of this episode.

LADY AMARĀ AND THE FOUR WISE MEN, UMMAGGA JĀTAKA.

(*Plate XXXVIII* (*a*)).—This is an episode in the long story known as the Ummagga Jātaka[2]. The Bodhisattva was once born as the son of a merchant and, from his infancy, showed signs of great wisdom. The fame of his wisdom reached the ears of the king of the land who appointed the young Bodhisattva, named Mahosadha, as his counsellor. Mahosadha, by his wise decisions, put into shade the four wise men who had hitherto been counsellors to the king and had enjoyed a great reputation. They, therefore, became enemies of Mahosadha and were seeking an opportunity to harm him. Mahosadha, in course of time, married a lady named Amarā who, too, was gifted with uncommon sagacity. The four wise men now became doubly envious of Mahosadha and, having thought of a scheme by which they could get rid of their rival, put it into execution without loss of time. The four of them, separately, stole four precious objects belonging to the king, namely the jewel from the royal crest, the golden necklace, the woolen robe and the golden slippers, and managed to send these treasures surreptitiously

[1] *See Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, Vol. I), p. 75.
[2] *Jātaka*, translation, Vol. VI, p. 185 ff.

to Mahosadha's house as if they were gifts to Amarā. That lady was too wary for the wise men and, suspecting some plot, took down all the evidence necessary to prove, when the occasion arose, that the treasures were sent by them. Soon after, the wise men went to the palace and, in the course of conversation, asked the king why he was not wearing the ornaments they had stolen. The king replied that he would wear the ornaments and requested the sages to fetch them. They, of course, found them missing and in reporting that fact also suggested that the ornaments would be found in Mahosadha's house. The king believed them and showed displeasure towards Mahosadha who, learning the fact from his friends, came to the palace to explain matters; but the king would not grant him an audience. Mahosadha, finding that the king was in an unreasonable mood, fled from the city. The four wise men were now elated at their success and each one of them, unknown to the other, sent a letter to the lady Amarā, thinking of celebrating the joyful occasion by having a nice time with her. She appointed a separate time for each and when they came she had them clean shaven with razors, threw them into the jakes, tormented them sore and, wrapping them up in rolls of matting, sent word to the king. Taking them and the four precious things, she went to the palace, produced the evidence that she had to bring home the guilt to the wise men and, delivering back the king's property, established the innocence of her husband. The king must have been naturally incensed at the infamous conduct of his counsellors, but as Mahosadha himself had left the city, he was perplexed at the whole affair and told them to bathe and go home.

Of this episode, the artist has selected the moment which lends itself best to dramatic treatment, *i.e.*, just after the four counsellors had been denounced by lady Amarā in the presence of the king. The centre of the panel is occupied by a king seated on a throne. He seems to be in a great rage, has unsheathed his sword but has thrown it down at the foot of the throne. In one hand, he still holds the sheath, the other is raised up and he is looking at, and obviously lecturing, three men on the right side of the composition. The foremost of these three is seated on a low cushion. All the three are wrapped up, body as well as head, in what looks like blankets. The expression on their faces is that of mortal fear and their look is averted from the king. Their hands are folded and it appears as if they are begging pardon of the king for some crime they had committed. To the left of the king is the queen seated on a less magnificent throne. Behind the queen is standing a young lady looking at the crestfallen figures on the right with an air of triumph and satisfaction. Either this lady, or one of the two standing behind her, is holding up a tray, the contents of which are not distinctly visible. The usual palace attendants, some of them bearing chauris, stand behind the throne and crouching below the throne of the queen are two dwarfs, male and female, who, as we know from references in Sanskrit literature, were kept in the palaces of Indian kings.

The frightened-looking men who occupy the right side of the panel are obviously meant to represent the wise men. It should be noted that there are only three of them instead of four according to the text. This difference is probably due to the fact that there was no room to include all four in the

composition and the artist intended the observer to take it that one of them was cut out from the range of vision. The lady behind the queen is obviously Amarā, well pleased at the outcome of the incident; and what she or one of her maids is bearing aloft on a tray must be the four treasures which were stolen by the wise men. The attitude in which the king is represented is quite appropriate to the scene. He had drawn his sword to mete out summary justice to the culprits, but on second thoughts has desisted from this course and pardoned them; but is still giving vent to his anger. It is also appropriate that the wise men are shown in an attitude of begging pardon.

This same episode has been illustrated in one of the bas-reliefs at Bharhut (Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 53 f.). The descriptive label attached to it says that it is the Yavamajhakiya Jātaka, but Cunningham has not been able to identify the story in the Jātaka Collection. He has, however, given a parallel from the *Bṛihat-kathā* of Kshemendra. 'Yavamajjhaka' was the name of the village in which Mahosadha was born and the whole Jātaka or this particular episode of it may have been known at one time by the name given in the Bharhut label. In the Pali Jātaka collection, too, some of the episode of the Mahā Ummagga Jātaka, occur as separate birth-stories. Prof A. Foucher (*Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 49 ff.) has identified this Bharhut sculpture and has described it in detail. The treatment of the subject by the Bharhut sculptors is naive and less dramatic than in the present relief. The moment selected for illustration is the bringing in of the wise men in baskets by Amarā's men. Three of them have already been brought in, the baskets placed on the ground and opened and the faces of the wise men are visible. One is still being brought in and the king is watching. Amarā has not yet made her denunciation. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture, on the whole, shows a great advance in the artistic treatment of the subject.

CHAMPEYYA JĀTAKA.

(*Plate XXXVIII* (*b*)).—In this Birth-story, the Bodhisattva was a Nāga king of great glory and was named Champeyya. He was dissatisfied with his serpent birth and, in order to obtain a better state of existence, was in the habit of coming to the world of men and observing the fast days in the form of an ordinary snake. A certain Brahman, by the power of a charm which he knew, captured the Nāga and made him dance before multitudes of men, earning much wealth thereby. Though the Nāga could, if he wished, emit poison and destroy the Brahman, he did not do so, lest he should break the religious vows he had undertaken to observe, and meekly went through all the indignities caused by performing in the manner of an ordinary snake. In course of time the Brahman arrived in Benares and was commanded by the king to give a performance on a particular day in the royal presence. In the meantime Sumanā, the wife of the Nāga king, having come to know, by means of certain portents, that some misfortune had befallen her lord, came to the world of men and went to the palace of the king of Benares just as the Nāga was performing in the presence

of the assembled court. On seeing his wife, the Nāga felt ashamed and would not continue his dancing as usual. The king inquired into the matter and having come to know from Sumanā who the performing serpent was, commanded the Brahman to set him free. The Nāga returned to his abode, where he was visited by the king attended by his retinue.

The relief shows a king seated on a throne in the midst of the usual type of palace attendants. A snake-charmer is squatting before the king and is holding a coiled serpent in his hands. The king is shown in the attitude of having a conversation with the snake-charmer. The female standing next to the king's throne on the left side can be identified as Sumanā, from the serpent hood, which is much damaged but can still be recognised, behind her head. Her gaze is fixed on the serpent in the hands of the snake-charmer. While the Nāgī Sumanā is shown in anthropomorphic form, according to the practice of the artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Champeyya is shown in the animal form as the trend of the story makes it essential. The moment selected by the artist for depiction in the sculpture is that in which the king, after his coversation with Sumanā, ordered the snake-charmer to release the Nāga.

MANDHĀTU JĀTAKA.

Plate XXXIX.—Both these reliefs evidently illustrate the same episode which is probably the last scene of the Mandhātu Jātaka; but we cannot be quite certain of this identification. As in Plate XLIII (*b*), about the identification of which there is no doubt, we see in Plate XXXIX (*b*), which is the more detailed of the two, a king reclining on a couch in a state of extreme lassitude, being supported by a woman, probably his chief queen. Two other ladies, probably two of his queens, are seated on stools at either side of the couch. A person who, from his mode of dress, appears to be a Brahman chaplain, occupies another stool on the left and near him is a young man, similarly seated obviously grieving. Female attendants in various attitudes are shown bringing in necessary things and ministering to the sick person. On the upper right hand corner of the composition is shown a portion of the sky with a crescent moon, a few stars and an indistinguishable object shown as if it is falling towards the earth. A man and a woman, among the persons standing in the background, are pointing towards the sky, obviously drawing attention to the indistinguishable object. A gate in the background on the left side indicates that the scene was laid outside a palace.

Comparing the lower sculpture with Fig. (*a*), the main scene depicted here can very well be taken as showing Mandhātu about to pass away after his fall from heaven. The bit of sky depicted on the upper right hand corner and the indistinguishable object shown therein may illustrate the fall of Mandhātu from heaven. The object can hardly be distinguished as a man but when coming down from heaven, he must have appeared, from a distance, to those on earth as a shapeless object. And the oblong form given to this object can very well have been for the purpose of indicating a human form seen far

up in the sky. The relief appears, therefore, to be two separate scenes merged in one composition, as is very often seen in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Fig. (*a*) is essentially the same as Fig. (*b*), with the omission of certain unimportant details, probably due to want of space.

THE NĀGA KING APALĀLA SUBDUED BY THE BUDDHA.

Plate XL.—The story of this Nāga king is given by Hiuen Tsiang in his account of Udyāna (modern Swat)[1] and is also referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 348). The Nāga had his abode at a fountain which is the source of the Swat river; and he used to destroy the products of the earth in the neighbouring country by means of a white stream which emitted from the fountain. The Buddha was moved with compassion for the people of this country and went to the Nāga's abode, attended by Vajrapāṇi, to make him desist from his evil way of life. Vajrapāṇi smote the mountain side with his thunder-bolt and the Nāga king, terrified, came forth and paid reverence to the Buddha. After listening to the Buddha's preaching, the Nāga was converted and was asked by the Buddha not to injure the crops of the husbandmen. He expostulated that this would mean the loss of his means of sustenance and the Buddha permitted him to do so once in twelve years only.

This legend which was a favourite subject of the sculptors of Gandhāra is illustrated in two bas-reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The treatment of the subject is very much the same in both sculptures.

In this composition, we see the Buddha advancing towards the Nāga's abode, through a rocky forest. Trees and a lion indicate the wild nature of the locality. A personage whose back only is visible, as he is facing the mountain side, is standing with his arms akimbo as if proud of a great feat that he has just performed. Three figures of antelopes are shown as running terrified from the scene and a wide cleft is shown on the mountain side. On the left of the composition, the Nāga king and two of his wives are seated on a throne. Attendant Nāgas are seated on the ground. The Nāga king and his women are all looking, terrified, towards the direction from which the Buddha is coming.

All the details of this sculpture are in agreement with the story of Apalāla as given by Hiuen Tsiang. The person who is facing the mountain side is evidently Vajrapāṇi, after he has smitten the rock with his thunder-bolt. This weapon is shown at the top of the cleft. The attitude of Vajrapāṇi is quite appropriate for one who has just performed a feat of this nature. The cleft in the rock is caused by the impact of the thunder-bolt and the beasts are running away from the scene frightened of Vajrapāṇi's thunder-bolt. The fright of the Nāga and his women is due to the same reason, as can very well be guessed from the fact that their heads are all turned in the direction of Vajrapāṇi. The Buddha is advancing calmly towards the Nāga who, after seeing the might of the Buddha's faithful attendant, is now amenable to reason. The two lotuses under the Buddha's feet are evidently meant to convey that he is in the act of

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[1] Beal. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 122.

walking, for according to Buddhist texts, lotuses appear from the earth to receive the Buddha's feet when he is walking.

In Fig. (*a*), the treatment of the subject is, on the whole, similar to that of the sculpture already described, but there are variations in minor details. Vajrapāṇi is depicted in a more spirited manner and the figure of a small goblin is shown at his feet. He is looking towards the Nāga as if asking the latter to see what he has already done. The Nāga is seated alone on the throne and his wife occupies a separate seat on the left side.

In comparing these two sculptures with bas-reliefs from Gandhāra,[1] illustrating the same subject, we find that the artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have treated their subject in a more vivid and dramatic fashion and more in accordance with the texts than has been done by the Hellenised artists of the North-West of India.

Plate XLI (*a*) shows an unidentified sculpture and (*b*) another illustration of Māra's assault.

ŚIBI JĀTAKA.

Plate XLII (*a*).—The story illustrated in this panel can be easily recognised as that of King Śibi. In the *Mahābhārata*, king Śibi is said to have given away his own flesh in order to redeem a dove from a hawk. In the Pali *Jātaka* collection as well as in the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā*, king Śibi, who is identified with the Bodhisattva, gives his own eyes to a blind Brahman who is really Sakka (Indra) in disguise, come to test the sincerity of the king's determination to give anything, even his own body.[2] Sakka later on restored the eyes of the king. The story of Śibi found in the *Avadāna-śataka* has combined into one the episodes occurring in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Jātaka*.[3] In Indian plastic art, however, it is the story of redeeming the dove by giving his own flesh, that has been illustrated, probably as the subject is better suited for artistic treatment; and it has been found in the sculptures of the Gandhāra country as well as in those of Amarāvatī.[4] It is this version of the legend which has been illustrated in the sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, too.

In the centre of the composition is shown the king seated on a throne and holding the dove in his hands. By his side, on the right, stand three royal guards holding weapons in their hands and a man holding a single-scaled balance. The king is shown again, seated on the ground near the throne, and cutting the flesh off his own thighs and putting pieces of it into a basket placed in front, while his ministers and ladies of the court are horrified and beg of him to desist. In the upper left hand corner of the panel are shown Indra and another deity in the sky and the king and two women are raising their hands towards the gods in an attitude of adoration. Probably Indra comes in, as in the Pali version, to restore to the king his limbs which he has given away in his enthusiasm for charity.

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[1] See Foucher, *L'Art Græco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, Tome I, Figs. 270-275.

[2] *Jātaka* No. 499, Vol. IV, Rouse's translation, p. 250 ff. and *Jātakamālā*, text, p. 6 ff.

[3] Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 27.

[4] See Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, pl. XXII and Foucher in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Vol. V, p. 15, pl. VIII, fig. 1.

TRANSPORT OF RELICS.

Plate XLII (b).—The centre of this much damaged relief is occupied by a throne, borne aloft, on which, resting on cushion, is a casket somewhat resembling a *stūpa* in shape. The casket, no doubt, is one containing relics of the Buddha. On either side of the throne are personages holding umbrellas over the casket, the one on the right side being a Nāga. Surrounding the casket are men, women and supernatural beings paying homage to the relics and bringing offerings.

There is no doubt that this sculpture depicts the transportation, in state, of the relics of the Buddha. After the Buddha's cremation at Kusinārā, his corporeal remains were divided into eight shares among the princes of various cities. Excepting the Mallas of Kusinārā, who were on the spot, all the other recipients of relics had to transport them to their native cities; and this was done with great eclat. But, according to the texts, it was Ajātaśatru of Rājagṛiha who transported his share of the relics with the greatest pomp and ceremony.[1] In addition to the king's own retinue, supernatural beings like gods and Nāgas came in freely and offered their homage to the sacred relics. There is very little doubt that the scene depicted in this sculpture is the procession conveying the relics to Rājagṛiha.

MANDHĀTU JĀTAKA.

Plate XLIII.—The two panels of this slab illustrate the Mandhātu Jātaka. In this story, the Bodhisattva was born as the son of Uposatha, one of the kings in the early ages of the world when men lived to an extraordinary length of time. He was called Mandhātu, and, coming to the throne after the death of his father, became a *chakravartin* monarch possessed of the Seven Precious Things. After countless years spent as the sole monarch of the earth, he became discontent with his earthly splendour and by the power of the Wheel (*chakra-ratna*), he, with his suite, went to the heaven of the four great kings. He was received with great honour by the four great kings and was made ruler of that heaven. After some time he got tired of this heaven and proceeded as before to the Heaven of the Thirty Three, ruled by Sakka (Indra). Mandhātu was given half of his own kingdom by Sakka and the two of them ruled together as equals. Time went on till the Sakka who received Mandhātu, after the expiry of his term of life, had to depart from his heaven and another Sakka appeared in his place. In this way Mandhātu remained as joint ruler of Trayastriṁśa heaven till thirty six Sakkas followed one another. Then discontent again seized Mandhātu and the thought occurred to him that he would become sole monarch of heaven by killing Sakka. He, however, could not kill Sakka; but with the occurrence of this thought, he himself began to age. And as a human body does not disintegrate in heaven, he fell down to the earth, in a park. The park-keeper sent the news of his coming to the royal family; they came and appointed him a resting place in the park and the king lay there in lassitude and weariness. He sent a message to his people emphasising the impermanence of all earthly and heavenly splendour, and died.

[1] *See Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, p. 609 f.

The story of King Mandhātu (Skt. Māndhātar) has been a popular one among all sects of the Buddhists and occurs in the Pali as well in the Sanskrit Buddhist writings.[1] Twenty bas-reliefs of the great *stūpa* of Barabuḍūr in Java are devoted to the illustration of this story, showing that it was very popular with the Buddhists of that island. In Hindu legends, too, Māndhātar was a mighty monarch who flourished in the Golden Age of the world.

The sculptor has depicted only two episodes from this story; but they are quite enough to bring out the moral which the Buddhist preachers draw from it. In the upper panel, which is considerably damaged, our attention is at once drawn to two important personages seated in the kingly pose on an *āsana*. The figure on the left hand side of the *āsana* can be recognised as Indra by means of the cylindrical head-dress with which that deity is depicted in the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as well as in the art of Gandhāra. The personage seated on the right of the *āsana* must be Mandhātu. On either side of the *āsana* are the figures of two divine nymphs. The nymph on the left-hand side is damaged but that on the right is standing in a very graceful attitude, holding with one hand the branch of a tree. Behind the throne are four attendant nymphs, holding chauris.

The second panel shows Mandhatu in the royal park after his fall from heaven, and on the eve of his impending death. He is seen reclining on a couch with his feet on the lap of a female figure, probably intended for his chief queen. The king has a wearied look, his eyes are closed and is evidently dying. The queen has a sorrowful look and on either side of the couch are female attendants with anxious countenances, bringing various objects and ministering to the dying monarch. Behind the couch is shown a pavilion in which are other women wailing, striking their breasts with their hands.

THE BUDDHA VISITED BY INDRA IN THE CAVE OF INDRAŚAILA.

Plate XLIV.—These two sculptures, as has already been pointed out by Prof. Vogel,[2] illustrate Indra's visit to the Buddha while the latter was staying in the Cave named Indraśaila. The story is a favourite one of the Buddhists and has been found illustrated among the sculptures at Bhārhut, as well as of Gandhāra.[3] The story is found in the *Sakkapañha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the commentary to that text, the *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, adds certain important details. According to the latter, Indra (or Sakka, as he is called in Pali) thought of visiting the Buddha when the allotted span of his life in heaven was drawing to a close, with the hope that he would be able, by the help of the Buddha, to find a way to prolong the duration of his life. As Indra was not familiar with the Buddha he sent his musician, Pañchaśikha, to introduce him. The latter went to the Buddha's presence and played his *vīṇā* singing a song in which his love to a nymph and praises of the Buddha were mingled together. The Buddha

[1] *Jātaka*, No. 258, Vol. II, Rouse's translation, pp. 216-218, *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*, No. 4, p. 123 and *Divyāvadāna*, p. 210-224.

[2] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1934*, p. 4.

[3] Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. 88, and Plate XXVIII and Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

did not mind this inappropriate introductory song and gave a ready welcome to Indra. A religious discourse followed in the course of which Indra was established in the First Path of spiritual progress. By virtue of his faith in the Buddha, he attained the object for which the visit was undertaken, *i.e.*, the prolongation of his life, and returned rejoicing to his heavenly abode.

In the upper panel, the Buddha is shown seated on a throne under a tree attended by numerous divine beings. On the right side Indra is noticeable by his peculiar headdress. He is being led by Pañchaśikha who is playing on the divine *vīṇā*. Between Pañchaśikha and the Buddha are six divine beings, haloed, three of whom are standing, with their hands in an attitude of adoration, and the other three are seated, closing their ears with their hands. The fact that these beings are provided with haloes, like the Buddha, while Indra is not, shows that they must have been superior to Indra in spiritual attainments. Probably, they were intended for Bodhisattvas who, according to Mahāyāna accounts, were constantly in attendance on the Buddha, or denizens of a heaven higher than that of Indra. The attitude of the seated and haloed divine beings, covering their ears with their hands, is noteworthy. Prof. Vogel suggests that the gesture is meant to indicate 'their intent listening to the divine music'. But it is more reasonable to take it that they are in this attitude so that they may not listen to the love song of Pañchaśikha, a theme inappropriate in the presence of the Buddha. The lower panel shows, on the right hand side, the Buddha seated on a throne inside a cave and preaching; Indra and his attendants are seated and listening to the discourse with profound respect. Two deities are standing on either side of the Buddha's throne. The scene depicted on the left of this panel shows Indra, mounted on his elephant Airāvaṇa, and attended by other gods, returning heavenwards.

DASARATHA JĀTAKA.[1]

Plate XLV (a).—This is the Buddhist version of the old Indian saga, which, in its full development, is the theme of the famous Sanskrit epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Once upon a time there was a king of Benares, named Dasaratha. From his chief consort he had two sons, named Rāma and Lakkhaṇa, and a daughter named Sītā. In course of time the queen-consort died and the king espoused another princess who gave birth to a son, named Bharata. When his youngest son was born, the king was greatly pleased and offered a boon to the queen. She accepted the boon, but the choice of what it should be, she put off for the future. When Bharata was seven years old, the queen reminded the king of the promise of a boon and requested that her son be given the kingdom. The king was furious and refused to grant such a request which would deprive his elder sons of their rights. The queen, however, kept on constantly importuning the king who, fearing that some harm might be caused to his elder sons by his scheming consort, advised them, for the time being, to leave the city, and return after his death to succeed him. Consulting soothsayers, he was informed that twelve

[1] *Jātaka*, translation, Vol. IV, p. 78 ff.

years yet remained of his life; consequently he ordered the two princes to remain in the forest for that length of time. The princes, in accordance with their father's behest, were preparing to leave the court when their sister Sītā, too, resolved to accompany her brothers into exile. The three of them thus went to the Himalayas and led the life of hermits, Lakkhaṇa and Sītā attending to the needs of their elder brother, Rāma. The king, in the meantime, was sorely grieved at his parting from his favourite children, and therefore, died three years before the time appointed by the soothsayers. And as Bharata was the only one of the king's sons remaining in the capital, the sovereignty was offered to him by the ministers. Bharata, however, would not accept it and, going to the hermitage of Rāma with his retinue, invited the latter to return and reign. Rāma refused to disobey the injunction of his father which sent him to exile for twelve years, and Bharata, on his part, refused to deviate from the path of loyalty to his elder brother. The difficulty was solved by Rāma requesting Bharata to administer the kingdom for three years in his name and giving him his pair of sandals to represent him during his absence. Bharata accepted the arrangement and the three years thus passed off. Thereafter the exiles returned home and Rāma was anointed king with Sītā as his consort.

This story seems to have been illustrated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in three panels of a slab, of which the topmost is broken away and is missing. The second panel has also been mutilated, no serious damage being however done to the composition. The lowest panel, which is the first, shows two scenes. That on the right, which occupies the greater part of the panel, shows us the interior of a palace. A king, advanced in years, is seated on a magnificent throne, one of his feet resting on a stool. Behind the throne are two damsels bearing chauris and two attendants are crouching at the king's feet. On either side of the throne, two youthful looking personages are seated on *āsanas* lower than that of the king. From the fact that they are given seats in the presence of the king, from their youthful appearance and from their headdresses, it is evident that they are princes. From the attitudes of their hands the king and the prince seated on the higher seat, presumably the elder of the two, appear to be engaged in a conversation. An attendant, with a grief-stricken face and seated on the ground below the prince's seat, is touching the latter's feet. Behind the prince seated to the left of the king's throne can be seen a young woman, who is obviously not an attendant. All the details of this scene would apply to the interview of king Dasaratha with his two sons, at which he asked them to leave the country. The old king seated on the throne is Dasaratha, the prince seated on the right is Rāma, the other on the left is Lakkhaṇa and the lady behind Lakkhaṇa is princess Sītā. Immediately to the left of this scene are to be noticed a young man and a woman, plainly dressed and without any ornaments coming out of the gate of a city or palace. The man is carrying a pot suspended from a staff which is placed on his shoulder. The woman, too, is carrying a pot in her hands. This scene shows the princes and the princess leaving the palace to adopt an ascetic life in the forest. It is noteworthy that only one prince is shown here, whereas, according to the text and also the first

scene already described, there were two of them. It is probably due to exigencies of space, the artist meaning to convey to the observer that a part of the scene has been cut out and that there was another personage going in front.

The upper panel reads from the right. Here we see the royal exiles continuing their journey over rocky ground. The personage carrying the *pingo* here, is evidently not the same as the one in the lower panel, for there he is wearing a robe across his shoulder and here his body is bare above the waist. A part of this scene is cut out by the pillar of the gateway in the next scene and the artist evidently thought that it would be obvious to any one looking at the sculpture that there was another person travelling in advance. The very fact that the exiles are shown a second time in a similar manner to that shown in the first panel, with however a difference in the attire of the man, was perhaps due to the reason that only one prince was shown in the first panel as going away. This part of the sculpture, of course, shows the princes and the princess wending their way in the forest. The rest of the panel which appears as one scene has really two scenes merged into one. On the extreme left, a young ascetic is seated on a cushion placed on a rock, with a water-pot by his side. Another person of the same description, but evidently of lesser importance, is seated below, also with a water-pot in front of him. A woman is busying herself with some fruits and leaves which evidently formed the fare of these three ascetics. This scene obviously shows Rāma, his brother and his sister, in the jungle. In agreement with the text, Rāma is given a place of honour and the other two are attending to his needs as well as to their own. A youthful personage is respectfully saluting the ascetic and the two are seemingly engaged in some serious consideration. Behind this person is his entourage, consisting of a woman bearing a pot on her head, a man holding a fan and another woman. They are represented as coming out of a city gate. This scene depicts the visit of Prince Bharata to his elder brother Rāma and the offer of the kingdom. While Bharata is engaged in conversation with his brother, those of his entourage are shown as still emerging from the city gate. The city and the hermitage were far apart from each other and the appearance that one was close to the other is produced by the two episodes of the story being combined in one scene.

The sandals of Rāma are not shown in this scene. Perhaps there was a third panel in which the last episode of the story in which the sandals play a part, was illustrated.

MAHĀPADUMA JĀTAKA.[1]

Plate XLV (*b*).—The Bodhisattva, once upon a time, was born as the son of Brahmadatta, the king of Benares, and was known as Paduma-Kumāra (Prince Lotus) When he was grown up, his mother died and the king took another consort. Once the king had to go on an expedition to quell some insurgents; and he entrusted the management of the affairs of government to his son during his absence. The king was successful in his expedition and returned victorious to the city; and Prince Paduma was arranging to go forward

[1] *Jātaka*, No. 472.

to meet him. On this occasion Paduma's step-mother saw him, was enamoured of his beauty and endeavoured to seduce him from his virtue. The prince, however, would not listen to her improper advances, and the queen, partly on account of the frustration of her desires and partly as a means of self-defence, planned to destroy him. She feigned illness and when questioned by the king, told him that she was molested by Prince Paduma. The king, without any further inquiry, ordered the prince to be thrown down from the Robbers' Cliff, so called from the fact that condemned robbers were punished by being hurled down its precipice. The king's order was executed, but the prince was saved from death by a Nāga king who caught hold of him when he was falling down the precipice,[1] took him to his abode and gave him half his kingdom. After spending a year in the Nāga world, prince Paduma retired to the Himalayas and embraced the religious life. A certain forest-ranger of Benares saw Paduma, now turned ascetic, recognised him and brought the news to the king who went with his entourage to the hermitage and requested his son to forget the past and accept the kingdom by returning to the city. Paduma refused to give up his religious life and the king, now understanding by whose machinations he was deprived of so virtuous a son, caused the queen to be punished by being hurled down the Robbers' Cliff.

The two panels of reliefs which illustrate this story, while agreeing on the whole with the text so that the principal episodes of the story are recognisable, contain certain divergences in detail. The upper panel depicts two scenes. On the right hand side we see a horseman attended by two soldiers, one of them carrying a shield, proceeding along rocky ground towards a rugged cliff. Near the hind legs of the horse is a dwarfish man carrying a bundle and another person is standing near the forelegs of the horse. What these two persons represent, it is difficult to conjecture. In front of the horse is a personage, with a sorrowful countenance, depicted as if he is being urged to climb the cliff. This scene, it is clear, shows Prince Paduma being led to the Robbers' Cliff by the king's guards. On the left side is shown a cavity on the side of a rugged and precipitous cliff and a person, apparently falling down, is being caught in his hands by a Nāga standing in the midst of rocks. Another Nāga is assisting him to do this and a Nāgī is watching the scene interestedly. A tree in the background suggests the wild nature of the locality in which the action took place. This scene no doubt illustrates Prince Paduma being thrown down the precipice and his being rescued by the Nāga. According to the Pali Jātaka the prince is said to have fallen head downwards but in the sculpture he is shown falling with the feet towards the ground. This of course is an unimportant detail and the version of the story known to the Buddhists of the Āndhra country in the second or third century might not have made any particular mention of the manner in which the prince fell down. Besides, the artist might have thought it not quite proper to show the Great Being in such an ignominous position as hurling

[1] In the *Jātakahaṭṭakathā*, it was a deity who caught the falling prince and took him to the abode of the Nāga king. But the verses to which the *Jātakahaṭṭakathā* is a commentary definitely state that the prince was caught by a Nāga who lived on the mountain.

head downwards. The attendant Nāga and the Nāgī, who do not figure in the text, have evidently been introduced by the artist for the sake of effect.

The lower panel, which is mutilated, shows a hermitage. On the extreme left is a hermit's hut, with a domical roof, of the type familiar to us from the sculptures of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, and Gandhāra. An ascetic is seated in front of the doorway of the hut and a personage of importance is shown kneeling down and conversing with the ascetic, with his hands folded in an attitude of worship. Two Nāgas, a Nāgī and a man are shown behind, also paying homage to the ascetic. On the right of the composition a monkey is shown playing on a cross-bar set up on two upright posts and two trees and rocks indicate that the hermitage was in the forest. A monkey climbing down a tree, without any fear of a lion at the foot of it, shows the peaceful nature of the surroundings where the thoughts of universal love cultivated by the ascetic had made even the wild beasts of the forest lose their suspicion of one another. Near the ascetic's hut is some sort of contrivance made evidently of wood and ropes, of which the purpose is not clear. This scene probably illustrates the interview between the king and the ascetic Paduma. The person who is conversing with the ascetic may be the king inviting his son to return home. The text says that in this interview the ascetic was seated at the door of his hut of leaves, exactly as is shown in the sculpture; but it also says that the king went attended by his courtiers who are, however, not shown in the sculpture, unless the person behind the Nāgas is meant to be one of them. Or it may be that this scene depicts the meeting of the ascetic and the forest-ranger who took the news of his son to the king, and there was another panel illustrating the interview between the king and his son. The Nāga king does not figure in the story after the Bodhisattva had become an ascetic; but in the sculpture, three Nāgas are shown rendering homage to him. Here again the artist seems to have given free play to his fancy and must have thought that the Nāga king and his attendants did not altogether forget the Great Being, whom they saved from an untimely death, after his adoption of the religious life; and that they paid occasional visits to the hermit and were present on the occasion of the king's visit. It may also be mentioned that at this interview the princely ascetic explained to his father how he was saved from death by the intervention of the Nāgas and their presence in the picture may be the artist's way of expressing this fact.

UPASĀGARA AND DEVAGABBHĀ: GHATA JĀTAKA[1].

Plate XLVI (a).—This sculpture is mutilated, only the upper portion being preserved; and it also appears to have been the first of a series of bas-reliefs illustrating one story. It is therefore not possible to identify this sculpture beyond a possibility of doubt; but it seems to illustrate an episode of the Ghata Jātaka, *i.e.*, the clandestine meeting of the lovers Upasāgara and Devagabbhā.

Devagabbhā was the daughter of Mahākaṁsa, king of the Kaṁsa country in North India, who had also two sons called Kaṁsa and Upakaṁsa. When

[1] *Jātaka*, translation, Vol. IV, p. 50 ff.

Devagabbhā was born it was predicted that a son born of her would destroy the country and the lineage of the Kaṁsas. The king, however, was too fond of the girl to put her to death; and passed away in course of time without having taken any steps to prevent the calamity to his line which was predicted. His two sons, when they succeeded to the sovereignty, did not also put the girl to death for fear of an outcry by the people; but instead they decided to keep her husbandless and had her confined in a one-pillar-house. At that time, a prince from Northern Madhurā, by name Upasāgara, was forced to leave his home and, coming to the court of the Kaṁsas, entered their service. One day Upasāgara happened to have a sight of Devagabbhā and fell in love with her. She, on her part, saw Upasāgara and was enamoured of him. Devagabbhā had a serving woman called Nandagopā and her husband, Andhakaveṇhu, was the guard who watched the princess' place of confinement. The lovers managed to enlist the sympathies of this couple who contrived to bring about a meeting of the prince and princess. Subsequently the lovers met often and the inevitable happened. What followed when the affair was brought to the notice of the princess' brothers, how the children of this union were saved from death and their subsequent career, form a long story which we need not enter into here.

What remains of the sculpture shows the interior of an apartment, in which a young woman is standing expectantly by the side of a chair. A young man, attired in a cloak and a robe across the shoulders, is advancing to meet her through an open gateway. The two are evidently Upasāgara and Devagabbhā, the coy but pleased expression on the face of the young woman and the way in which the youth is holding up one of his hands as if saluting his lady-love, indicate that the scene is a meeting between two lovers. The prince is holding a sword, the hilt only of which is preserved. The fact that he is shown as firmly grasping his sword, in spite of his interest in the young lady, shows that he is engaged in a perilous adventure. The woman who is interestedly watching the proceedings from behind the chair is evidently Nandagopā who arranged the tryst. Another serving woman in the background is holding something in her hand, probably for the entertainment of the prince and princess. At the doorway can be seen the remains of a figure holding a club. This is perhaps Andhakaveṇhu, the guard who let the prince in. Outside the doorway, the head of another personage, looking in the other direction, can also be seen. Probably he was also one of the guards let into the secret and is observing for a possible intruder. In the foreground on the right is the domed roof of a building which perhaps is meant for the roof of the one-pillar-house which the artist depicted to show that the scene portrayed in the rest of the panel was inside that building.

THE BUDDHA PREACHING TO FOUR MONKS.

Plate XLVI (b).—This sculpture depicts the Buddha seated on a *siṁhāsana*, placed under a tree, and preaching to four disciples who are seated on the ground and listening to the discourse with profound respect. Trees in the background

suggest that the scene was a place like the Deer Park at Isipatana where the first sermon was delivered by the Buddha. And the scene depicted in the sculpture could have been identified with this event had there been five, instead of four monks listening to the discourse of the Buddha.

In Tibetan writings regarding the life of the Buddha, it is stated that whilst the Buddha was still at the Deer Park, and after the conversion of the rich householder Yaśas, four of the latter's friends came to the Master and, hearing his religious discourse, were converted and admitted to the Order.[1] This sculpture can very well be an illustration of this incident, the four monks listening to the Buddha's discourse being the four friends of Yaśas after being admitted to the Order. The three personages to the left of the Buddha might be *devas* or men who may be found anywhere when the Buddha is preaching.

DĪGHĪTIKOSALA JĀTAKA.

Plate XLVII (a).—The scene depicted in this panel has been identified by Prof. Vogel with an episode of the Dīghītikosala Jātaka.[2] Once upon a time there was a king of Kosala named Dīghīti who was attacked by the powerful king of Benares. Dīghīti fled the kingdom with his wife and was staying in disguise in a potter's village in the confines of the kingdom of Benares. When he was living thus in poverty a son named Dīghāvu was born to him. When Dīghāvu had grown up, the king of Benares came to know that his old enemy was living in disguise and he ordered his men to execute Dīghīti and his wife. While the couple were being led to be executed, their son Dīghāvu came that way and Dīghīti advised the young man to 'look far and not near and to conquer hatred by love'. The king of Benares, after some time, took young Dīghāvu into his service, without knowing who the latter was. Once, when the king had gone hunting, a chance occurred to Dīghāvu to kill the man who had so cruelly butchered his parents. When he was on the point of killing his enemy, the advice of his dying father came to his mind; and, desisting from his murderous intention, revealed to the king who he was and told the whole story. The king was greatly moved by the incident and gave Dīghāvu the kingdom that belonged to his father.

The scene on the left of the panel depicts two persons, evidently a man and a woman, being led to execution. Their hands are tied behind their backs and soldiers bearing shields are escorting them. The young man with a sword coming towards the prisoners is evidently prince Dīghāvu meeting his parents being led to the place of execution. On the right-hand side of the panel is a king seated on a throne, and two female attendants are seated below. A young man is shown as saluting the king and having a conversation with him. As Prof. Vogel has surmised, this scene represents prince Dīghāvu being summoned to the presence of the king to be taken into the royal service.

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[1] Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 39.

[2] *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1930*, p. 5.

THE FIRST OFFERING OF FOOD TO THE BUDDHA AFTER THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE BUDDHA'S MEETING WITH THE FRIAR UPAKA.

Plate XLVII (b).—The scene depicted on the right side of this panel seems to be the offering of food to the Buddha after the Enlightenment by the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka (Skt. Trapusha and Bhallika). According to the legends, the Buddha, after the Enlightenment, spent seven weeks in the vicinity of the Bōdhi tree, during the whole of which period he partook of no food. After the seventh week two merchants named Tapassu and Bhalluka, who were passing that place on their way from Ukkaḷa to the Middle Country, were led to the *rājāyatana* (in Skt. *tārāyana*) tree, under which the Buddha sat, by a goddess who was a relation of theirs in a previous existence. The merchants offered rice and honey cakes to the Buddha and begged him to accept. The Buddha, however, had no bowl to receive the food in; and at that moment the Four Great Kings offered him four bowls which he accepted and made into one and out of which he ate the food offered by the merchants.

The sculpture shows the Buddha seated under a tree which is doubtless meant to be the *rājāyatana*. A person, evidently one of the two merchants, is kneeling before him, probably in the act of offering the food. Two bulls and a cart shown in the background are in agreement with the texts which state that the merchants were travelling with a caravan of 500 waggons. To the left of the Buddha are four females, one of whom is pouring water into the hand of the Buddha out of a vase and the other is holding some vessel, presumably containing the food to be offered to the Buddha. This part of the relief is not in agreement with the texts in which the only female character figuring in this episode is a goddess and the part she played consisted only in inducing the merchants to offer food to the Buddha. The sculpture, however, does not show the merchant as himself offering the food. Perhaps the artist meant to show that the goddess not only brought the merchants to the scene; but that the actual offering of the food was done by her and her attendants, the merchant only supplying the meal. This might have been due to the sculptors deviating from the text for the sake of artistic effect or a different version of the legend having prevailed among the Buddhist of the Āndhra country.

The next scene, on the left side of the panel, shows the Buddha standing (or walking) and a personage whose figure is badly mutilated and worn standing before the Teacher with folded hands, in an attitude of adoration. Above the halo of the Buddha are shown geese flying. According to the texts the event which followed the offering of food by the merchants was the visit of Brahmā to invite the Buddha to proclaim the Truth to the world. When this happened, the Buddha was seated under the Shepherds' Banyan tree and as the sculpture does not show him in that attitude it is not possible to identify the scene with that incident. After accepting the invitation of Brahmā, the Buddha started to go towards Benares to preach the first sermon in the Deer Park; and on the way, met an *ājīvaka* friar named Upaka with whom he had a conversation. The scene may possibly relate to this episode; but the personage shown as

conversing with the Buddha, though his figure is much damaged, seems to be wearing bangles and a necklace, and it is doubtful whether an *ājīvaka* friar would have worn such ornaments.

SĀGATA AND THE NĀGA OF THE MANGO-FERRY.

Plate XLVIII.—The two panels remaining of this slab illustrate a story in which a Nāga king has been subdued by a disciple of the Buddha. A third panel, of which a few traces are visible must have continued the story which seems to be the subduing of the Nāga king of the Mango-Ferry by Sāgata, a disciple of the Buddha.[1]

When the Buddha was once journeying from Sāvatthi to a market town called Bhaddavatikā, cowherds, goatherds, farmers and wayfarers came to him and warned him not to go towards the Mango-Ferry, for, they said, there dwelt, in the demesne of the naked ascetics, a deadly Nāga. The Buddha did not give any heed to their warning; but, continuing his journey, went to a grove near Bhaddavatikā and dwelt there. While he was there, the elder Sāgata who, though yet a worldling, possessed miraculous powers, went to the spot where the Nāga king dwelt; and, after a severe struggle typical of such cases, overpowered the Nāga and established him in the Faith. The story has a sequel, which does not interest us so far as the sculpture is concerned.

The right half of the lower panel, which is the first, shows the Buddha attended by monks and a lay figure, possibly Vajrapāṇi, walking along a path which, from the trees depicted, must have been in the country. Two men who, from the absence of any ornaments adorning their persons, must have been of lowly status in life, are standing before the Buddha in a respectful attitude and are evidently informing him of something. This scene probably illustrates the cowherds and other country yokels asking the Buddha not to go to the Mango-Ferry. In the scene to the left, the Buddha is seated on a throne attended by Vajrapāṇi and a number of monks. One of the monks, standing before him, is represented as if he is asking the Buddha's permission for something and, presumably, the same monk is shown as rising into the air. This scene probably represents the elder Sāgata taking leave of the Buddha before he went to encounter the Nāga king. The story, as it is found in the Pali texts, does not expressly state that Sāgata took the Buddha's permission before he went to meet the Nāga; but that is what must be expected of a dutiful disciple and the artist had justification, by the analogy in other similar stories, to introduce such a scene. The upper panel shows a Nāga king seated with his wives and attendants. On the extreme left of the composition, the monk is shown as advancing fearlessly towards the Nāga who is looking in anger towards the intruder. The Nāga king is again shown going towards the monk with a club in his hand to attack the intruder; and in the damaged portion of the panel, the same Nāga is shown, subdued, saluting the monk. In accordance with the practice of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa artists, the Nāga is shown in the anthropomorphic form, as the trend of the story does not make it imperative to show him in an animal form.

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[1] For the story, see the *Jātaka*, translation, Vol. I, by Lord Chambers p. 206.

THE CONVERSION OF THE YAKSHA ĀḶAVAKA.

Plate XLIX (*a*).—The two panels of this slab, unfortunately much damaged, most probably illustrate the conversion of the Yaksha named Āḷavaka by the Buddha—a subject which has also been treated by the sculptors of Gandhāra.[1] In brief, the story,[2] as given in the Commentary to the Āḷavaka Sutta of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, is as follows :—

King Āḷavaka of the city of Āḷavī once went hunting and, having missed his way in chasing a deer, came into the power of a mighty Yaksha, also named Āḷavaka. The king escaped from being devoured by the Yaksha by promising to send him daily, as offerings, a human being and a vessel of cooked food. On the advice of his ministers, the king started by sending condemned criminals to the Yaksha and when the supply of men from this source was exhausted, small children were sent as offerings. When twelve years had thus passed, it happened that there was not a single child in the kingdom to be sent as an offering to the ogre, save the infant son of the king himself, Prince Āḷavaka ; and the king, rather than break his promise to, and making himself liable to be devoured by, the Yaksha, decided to send the infant prince.

On the day previous to that on which the prince was to be sacrificed, the Yaksha and the infant prince came within the range of the Buddha's vision. By his divine knowledge, he came to know that the young prince was destined to become a prominent lay disciple and that the Yaksha himself had in him the aptitude to understand the Truth. He accordingly proceeded to the Yaksha's residence and reached there in the evening. The Yaksha was away, having gone to attend a meeting of his colleagues in the Himalayas, and his womenfolk received the Buddha with honour and listened to his religious talk. The door-keeper of the Yaksha Āḷavaka, by name Gadrabha (Ass), went and informed his master of the Buddha's coming. The Yaksha was furious when he heard that a shaven monk had, without his permission, entered his house ; and hastened home determined to give short shrift to the intruder. Then ensued a furious battle, second only to Māra's attack under the Bodhi tree, which lasted the whole night and in which the Yaksha exhausted all the weapons in his armoury ; but to no purpose, for, at the end of each murderous attack, the Yaksha found the Buddha seated unhurt and as serene as ever.

Finding violent measures to be of no effect, the Yaksha tried another method to drive away the Buddha. He upbraided the Buddha for enjoying the company of his ladies in his absence—a conduct unbecoming of a holy man—and ordered him to clear out. To the Yaksha's surprise, the Buddha meekly obeyed ; and, intending to tire him out, the Yaksha asked the Buddha to come in again, which command, too, was obeyed. This was repeated thrice ; but when the request was repeated a fourth time, the Buddha refused to move from his seat. Foiled in this attempt also, the Yaksha, as a last resort, asked the Buddha eight questions

[1] Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Tome I, p. 507ff.

[2] *Sāratthapakāsinī*, P. T. S. Edition, Vol. I, p. 317ff. The story occurring in the Sinhalese *Amāvatura*, on which Foucher's account of this story is based, is itself derived from the Pali commentary. See also Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 507, n. 1.

which he was wont to put to monks who came into his hands and which no one was able to answer before; and threatened that if the correct answers were not given, he would do bodily harm to the Buddha. All the questions were satisfactorily answered by the Buddha. The answers to the Yaksha's questions involved religious truths and when they were being expounded, the Yaksha was established in the Faith. With the conversion of the Yaksha, the day dawned, and the infant Āḷavaka was brought by the king's servants and nurses. Now, the Yaksha would not harm any sentient being; and on this evidence of his former wicked way of living, he was thoroughly ashamed, and placed the child at the feet of the Buddha, who of course, gave it back to the nurses to be brought up as one of his disciples.

The two panels read from the bottom upwards. In the lower one, we see the Buddha, seated on a throne upheld by two imp-like beings. These and the four goblins hovering in the air to the right of the Buddha are evidently intended to convey the idea that the scene was inside the palace of a mighty Yaksha. In the lower right hand side of the bas-relief we see a figure holding a club advancing in an angry mood. Behind him is another figure holding aloft what appears to be a round stone with which he is about to attack the Buddha. This scene evidently shows the Yaksha Āḷavaka coming to his house intending to attack the Buddha. The figure holding the club is evidently the Yaksha and the one behind him is Gadrabha, his door-keeper, who took the tidings of the Buddha's unexpected visit. All these details are in agreement with the text; but we do not find in the sculpture the wives of the Yaksha, to whom, according to the text, the Buddha was preaching when Āḷavaka returned. Perhaps they were shown to the left of the Buddha in that portion of the sculpture which is missing.

The upper panel is badly damaged and many of the details of the scene which it portrayed are missing. But there is preserved a significant detail which leaves us in no doubt as to the identification of the sculpture. A few traces of a throne are visible on the left hand side of what is preserved of the sculpture, and at the foot of the throne is a small child of which the head is missing, standing near a basket containing fruits. A woman is seated to the right of the child and coaxing it. To the right of the woman is a standing figure of which also the head is broken away. At the extreme right of the composition are two women bearing baskets containing offerings of fruit and other victuals. This scene is undoubtedly meant to illustrate the offering to the Buddha, of the little prince brought as a meal to the Yaksha after the latter's conversion. The woman seated is evidently the nurse. The standing male figure is the Yaksha, after conversion, and the two women are holding the other offerings of food brought to him.

Another sculpture, also considerably damaged, from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Fig. (*b*)) seems to be an illustration of the same story. In this relief, the Buddha is seated on a rock under a tree. The figures of monkeys and other wild animals and the trees appearing in the scene suggest that the scene is in a wilderness, which is in agreement with the text, for the Yaksha's palace was an etheral one

situated in a forest. Two women seated below the Buddha are listening to his preaching with folded hands. From the open doorway is entering a personage, holding a lance and evidently in a great rage. He is heading towards the Buddha and a woman is trying to prevent him from advancing. Behind him is another personage, also armed. The two armed men entering from the door are evidently Āḷavaka and his henchman Gadrabha. The women to whom the Buddha is preaching are the Yaksha's wives, and the scene depicts, more in agreement with the details given in the text than does the relief we have already noted, Āḷavaka's attempted attack on the Buddha. This relief is only the lower fragment of a slab and another panel showing the Yaksha after conversion and the infant prince may have been on the upper portion of the slab.

KING KAPPINA THE GREAT'S CONVERSION.

Plate L (a).—The bas-reliefs on the two panels of this slab illustrate the story of Kappina the Great.[1] In the days of the Buddha, there lived, in the city of Kukkuṭavatī, a king known as Kappina the Great. As a result of the meritorious acts which he had performed in a previous birth, he had an innate desire to understand and follow the Truth. Of like mind were his retinue who were his partners in the meritorious act he performed in the previous birth.

The king used to send messengers on horseback in various directions to find out whether a Buddha had appeared anywhere in the world to proclaim the Truth; but for some time his enquiries were in vain. One day the king, accompanied by a retinue of courtiers, proceeded to his pleasure garden; and, on his way, met a company of merchants entering the city. The king inquired of the merchants whether there was any good news from the country whence they came and was told that, in the city of Sāvatthi, there had appeared a Supremely Enlightened Buddha who was proclaiming the Truth to the world. Kappina was so overpowered by this good news that he only understood the implication of the utterance of the merchants by making them repeat it thrice. He decided there and then to go and see the Buddha and, without returning to the palace and entrusting the kingdom to his wife and the courtiers, he proceeded towards Sāvatthi accompanied by his retinue. The Buddha, in surveying the world by his Supernatural Vision, became aware of Kappina's coming, and proceeding half way to meet his would-be disciples, sat down and remained under a banyan tree on the bank of the river Candabhāgā. King Kappina proceeded on his way and having crossed three rivers and traversed a great distance, came to the place where the Buddha was staying. The Buddha preached the Law to the king who, with his retinue, gave up the worldly life and became a monk. In course of time Kappina attained a position of great eminence among the Buddha's disciples.

The two panels read from the bottom upwards. In the lower panel, we see a king, recognised as such by the umbrella held over his head, riding an elephant and proceeding on a journey, accompanied by his retinue. Riders on

[1] Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, p. 169ff.

elephants and horseback, and foot-soldiers armed with swords and shields, accompany the king. In the background on the right hand side of the composition is seen a city gate through which the king and his entourage are shown as emerging. This scene doubtless depicts the going forth of king Kappina and his followers to meet the Buddha. But there is one detail in which the story as depicted in the sculpture seems to deviate from the narrative of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. In that text we are told that the king went on horseback on this journey; but in the sculpture, the personage over whose head an umbrella is held and who must therefore be taken as the king, rides on an elephant though two of his retinue are shown mounted on horses. This, however, need not cause us surprise for we are well accustomed to greater divergences in detail in the same legend as appearing in the writings of the various schools of Buddhism.

The upper panel shows the Buddha, haloed, and in the attitude of preaching, seated on a throne under a tree, which may be the banyan mentioned in the text. He is attended on the left by Vajrapāṇi, bearer of the thunder-bolt. Two other figures, presumably also deities, one standing behind Vajrapāṇi and the other seated with hands held up in an attitude of adoration, are depicted to the left of the Buddha. On the right hand side is a man, whose head is being shaved, seated on the back of a kneeling elephant. This might well represent Kappina being admitted to the Order. Two monks with shaven heads are seated in front of the elephant. As the story does not say that the Buddha came forward to meet Kappina attended by any of his disciples, the two monks appearing in this scene must be taken as two of Kappina's retinue already admitted to the Order before the king; or it may be that one of these two monks is Kappina himself and the person whose head is being shaved is one of his retinue. Others of the king's retinue are watching reverently awaiting their turn to be admitted. Two horses and a tree in the background complete the picture. This story is also illustrated in Plate XXV (*a*).

EPISODES IN THE CAREER OF THE BUDDHA.

Plate L (*b*).—The various scenes depicted on the three panels of this slab illustrate some episodes in the career of the Buddha after his Enlightenment and upto, and including, the First Sermon in the Deer Park. In chronological sequence the scenes proceed from the bottom upwards and when there are two scenes in one panel they read from left to right.

On the left-hand side of the lowest panel is shown the Bodhi tree, adorned with garlands and streamers, below which is placed a magnificent *āsana*. A foot-stool is shown in front of the *āsana*, on the seat of which is placed a cushion. Another cushion is placed against the back of the *āsana*, which is empty. To the right of the throne is rocky ground near which the Buddha is shown, haloed, obviously in the attitude of walking. According to the *Nidānakathā*, the third week after the Enlightenment was spent by the Buddha walking up and down a cloistered walk (*chaṅkama*) which the *devas* created for him. According to the *Lalita-vistara*, the Buddha, in the second week from the Enlightenment, took a long walk that included the complex of three thousand great thousands of

worlds. In the fourth week he took a short walk which, however, has to be understood in a relative sense for it is said to have covered the whole distance between the East and the West sea. In the sculpture at Barabaḍūr depicting this event, the Buddha is shown at the moment when he was returning, from his walk, to the throne at the Bodhimaṇḍa. The scene we are discussing can therefore be identified as the third week after the Enlightenment according to the Pāli narrative or the second or the fourth week according to the Sanskrit text.

The sixth week, according to the Pali texts, or the fifth, according to the *Lalita-vistara*, was spent by the Buddha at a tree named Muhcalinda, in the abode of the Nāga king of the same name. There arose a great storm and the Nāga king sheltered the Buddha in the seven folds of his body. The scene depicted on the right of the lowest panel is undoubtedly this episode. Slightly differing from the texts which state that the Nāga king wound round the body of the Tathāgata seven coils to shelter him from the storm, the Buddha is depicted seated on the coils of the serpent, the seven hoods protecting him from the weather in the manner of an umbrella. Five of the Nāga's wives are shown in anthropomorphic form to the left of the Buddha, adoring him.

The middle panel depicts two scenes of the episode in which two merchants gave to the Buddha his first meal after the fast of seven weeks subsequent to the Enlightenment. On the left hand side of the panel the Buddha is seated on a *siṁhāsana* under a tree which is obviously meant for the *rājāyatana* or the *tārāyaṇa* of the texts. Four personages are standing before him, in a respectful attitude, each bearing, in his hands, a bowl. There is no doubt that this scene represents the gift of the bowls by the Four Great Kings, the rulers of the lowest heaven. On the right hand side, the Buddha is seated on the same throne and holds, in one of his hands, a bowl which is no doubt the four given by the Four Great Kings miraculously made into one. The bowl is filled with food; and a personage, presumably one of the two leading merchants figuring in the story, is pouring water, from a vase, into the hand of the Buddha—an act symbolic of making a gift. The other merchant is standing behind him with clasped hands, and two other personages, probably representing the followers of the two merchants, are shown in the background, in the same attitude.

The scene illustrated in the topmost panel can easily be recognised as the delivery of the First Sermon by the Buddha in the Deer Park—one of the four most important events in the life of the Teacher and a favourite theme with Buddhist artists of all countries. The Buddha is shown in the centre of the composition, seated on a lion throne under a tree. In front of the throne are two deer—a detail which is found in almost all sculptures depicting this event and meant to symbolise the Deer Park. Two personages, probably *devas*, are standing behind the throne on either side, bearing chauris in their hands. To the right of the Buddha are seated, with their hands clasped and listening with profound respect to the preaching, the five monks to whom the First Sermon was delivered. On the left are a number of *devas*, also in the same attitude.

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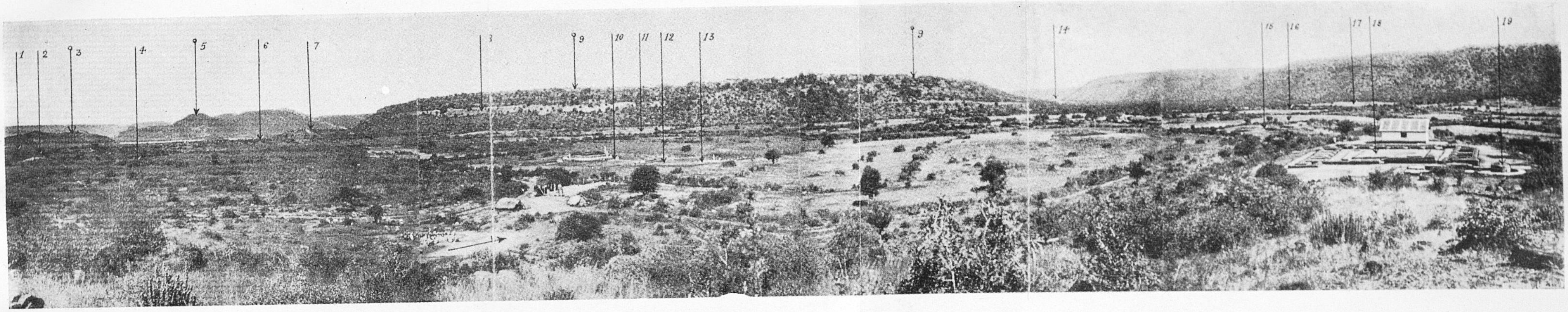
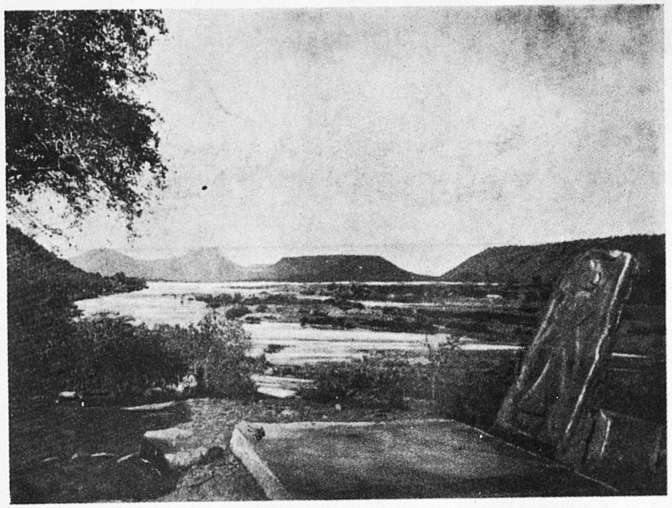


General View of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa taken from Nāharāḷḷabōḍu Hill.

REFERENCE.

1. Stūpa No. 9.
2. Palace Site.
3. Fortified Hill.
4. Stūpa No. 6.
5. Nizam's Dominions.
6. River and Wharf.
7. Stūpa No. 8.
8. Brick Fortifications.
9. Nāgārjuna's Hill.
10. Great Stūpa.
11. Monastery III.
12. Temple No. 1.
13. Chāṁtisiri's Maṇḍapa.
14. Krishna River.
15. Monastery II.
16. Stūpa No. 2.
17. Stūpa No. 3.
18. Monastery I.
19. Temple No. 2.

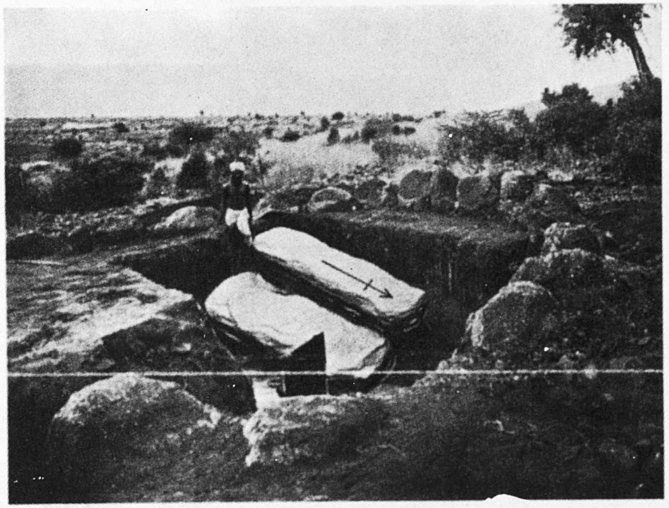
PLATE II.



(*a*) The bed of the Kṛishṇā river at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa showing Nizam's Dominions in the distance.

(*b*) The Headman's house at Pullareddigudem, the only village at Nāgārjunaknoḍa.

(*c*) Pre-Buddhist Tomb at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, before excavation.



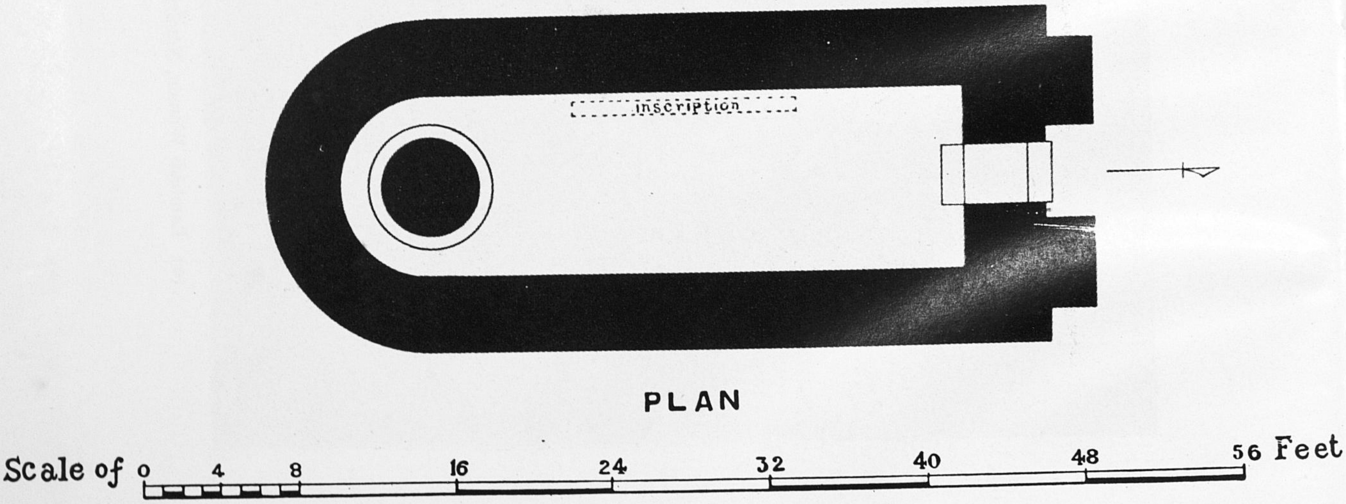
(*d*) Pre-Buddhist Tomb at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, showing the interior.

PLATE III.

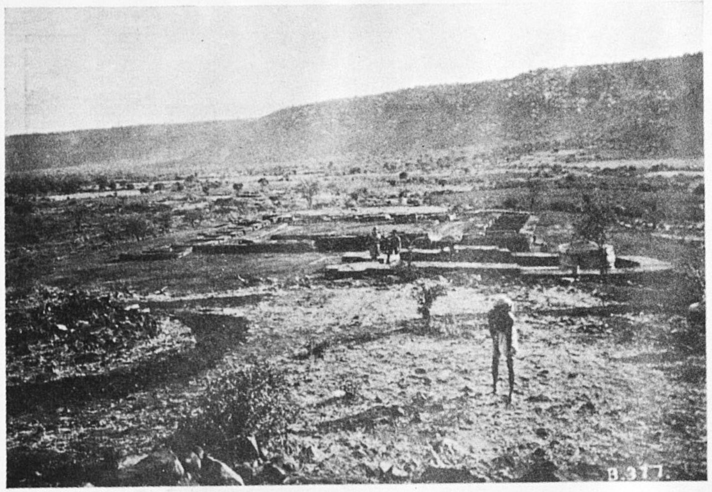
(*a*) Lambādi Women, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

(*b*) Chenchus and their dwellings, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

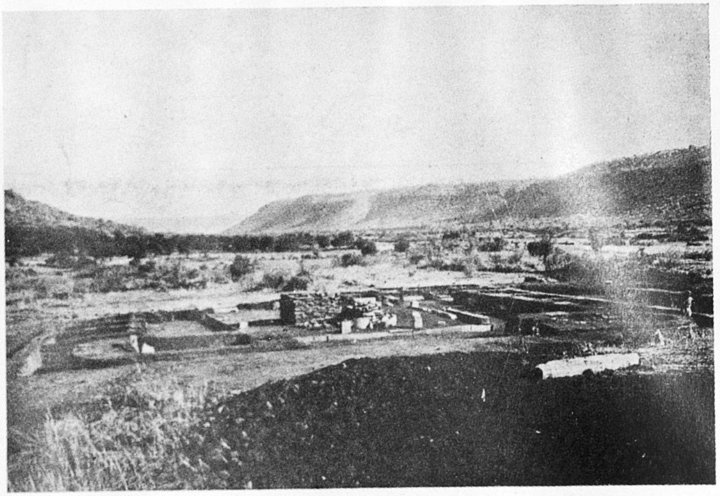
(*a*) Temple 1 and Monastic Hall built by Princess Chāṁtisiri close to the Great Stūpa. (Circa 200 A.D.)



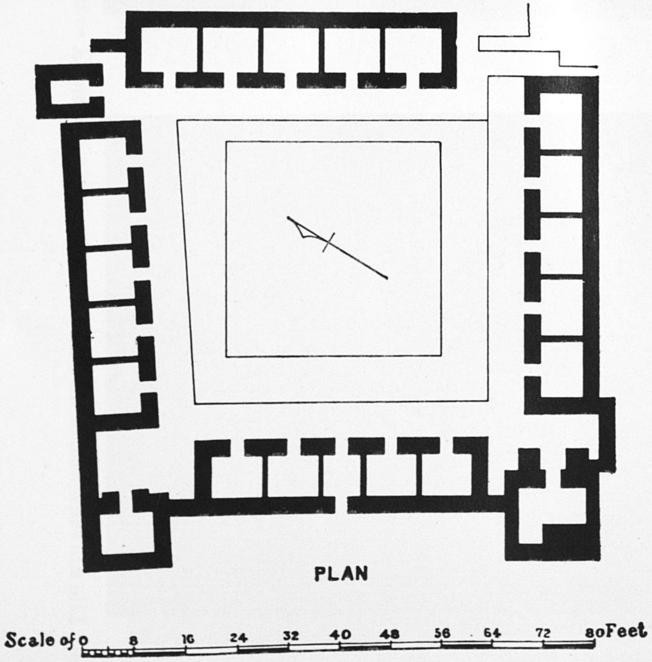
(*b*) Plan of Temple 1 built by Princess Chāṁtisiri.



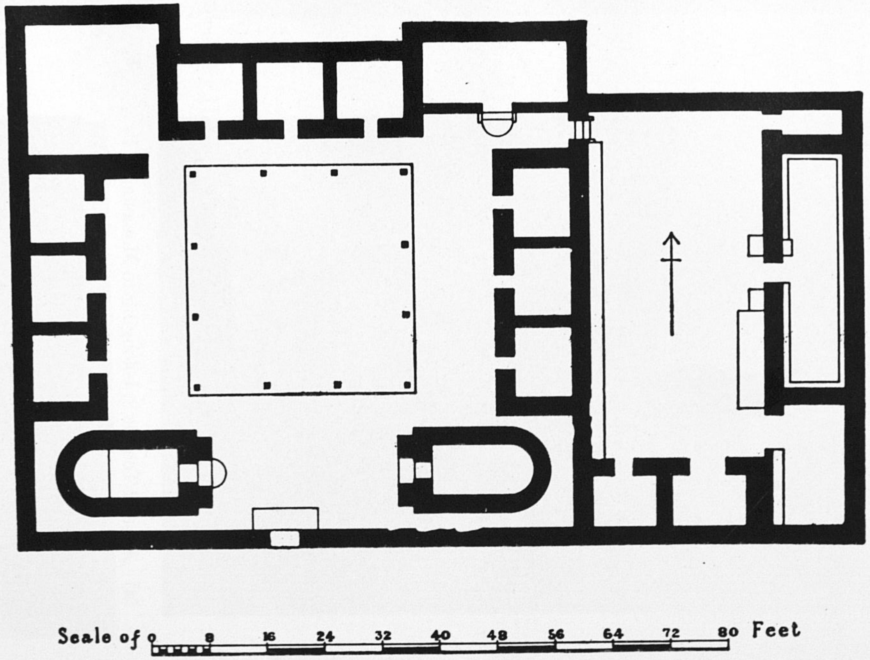
(*a*) Monastery I and Temple 2 built by Bodhisiri for the use of Ceylonese Monks.



(*c*) Monastery II situated on northern end of Nāharāḷḷabōḍu Hill (Circa 200 A.D.)

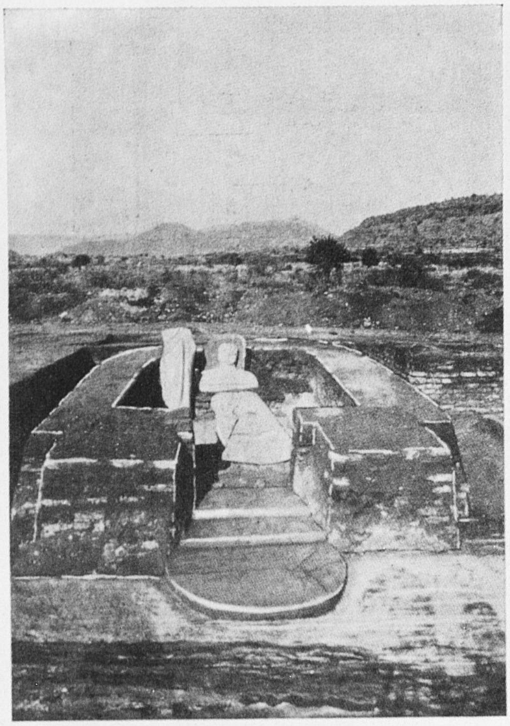


(*b*) Plan of Monastery I built by Bodhisiri for the use of Ceylonese Monks.



(*d*) Plan of Monastery II situated on northern end of Nāharāḷḷabōḍu Hill. (Circa 200 A.D.)

PLATE VI.

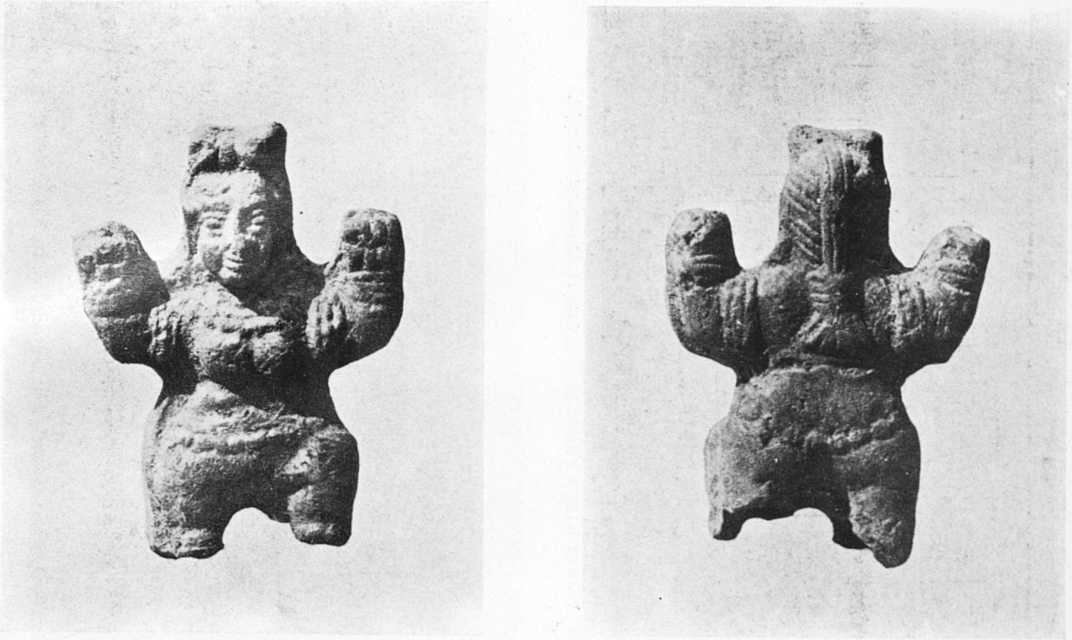


(*a*) Apsidal Temple 3, belonging to Monastery II (Circa 200 A.D.)

(*b*) Life size statue found in Apsidal Temple 3, (Circa 200 A.D.)

(*c*) Life size stone head of the Buddha found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

(*d*) Life size stone head of a Buddhist divine wearing a cap, found near Monastery I.

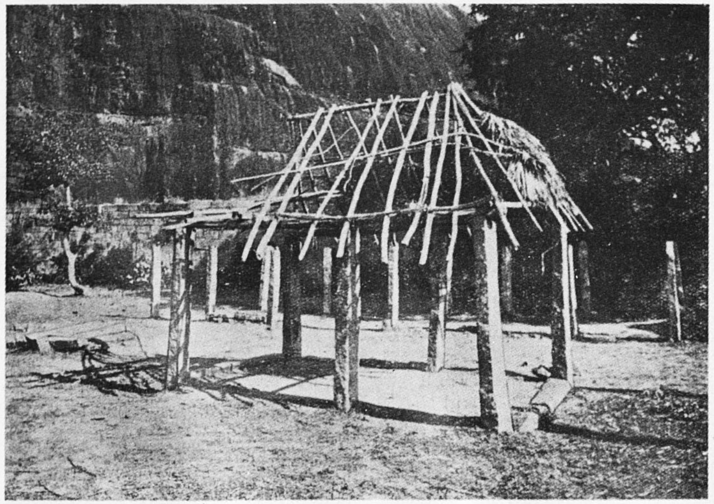


(*a*) Terra cotta figurine from Monastery II. Front and back view (Actual size).

(*b*) Terra cotta head from Stūpa No. 9. Front and side view (Actual size).

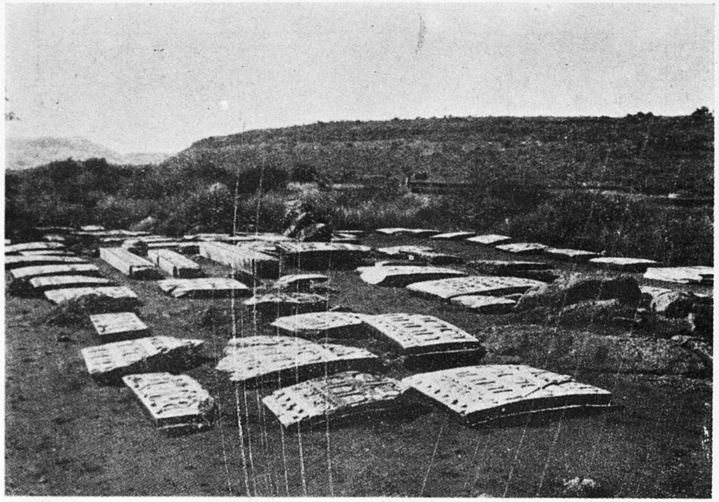
Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

(a) Pillared Hall belonging to Monastery III, situated at the foot of Nāgārjuna's Hill.



(b) Modern Pilgrims Resthouse in Pudukōtta State, showing primitive roof construction.

(c) Site of King's Palace at Vijayapurī, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa).



(d) A corner of the Sculpture Enclosure at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa showing a few of the sculptures collected during the excavations.

(*a*) Pillar 1 recovered from the Palace Site.

(*b*) Pillar 2 recovered from the Palace Site.

(*c*) Detail of Pillar 1.

(*d*) Detail of Pillar 2.

PLATE X.

(a) Front view of Pillar 3, recovered from the Palace site.

(b) Back view of Pillar 3, recovered from the Palace site.

(c) Scythian soldier carved on a pillar from the Palace site.

(d) Figure of Dionysus carved on a pillar from the Palace site.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

PLATE XI.

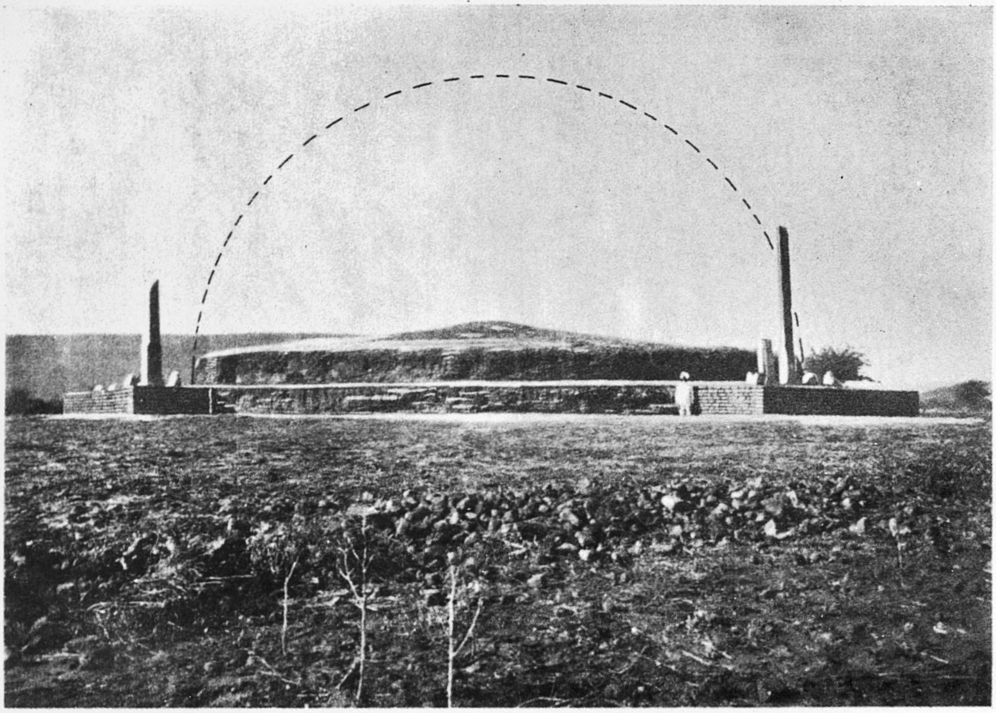
(*a*) A plain Āndhra Stūpa. Correct ground level is on A—B.

(*b*) A decorated Āndhra Stūpa. The wooden railing is shown below the line A—B which is the correct ground line of the Stūpa.

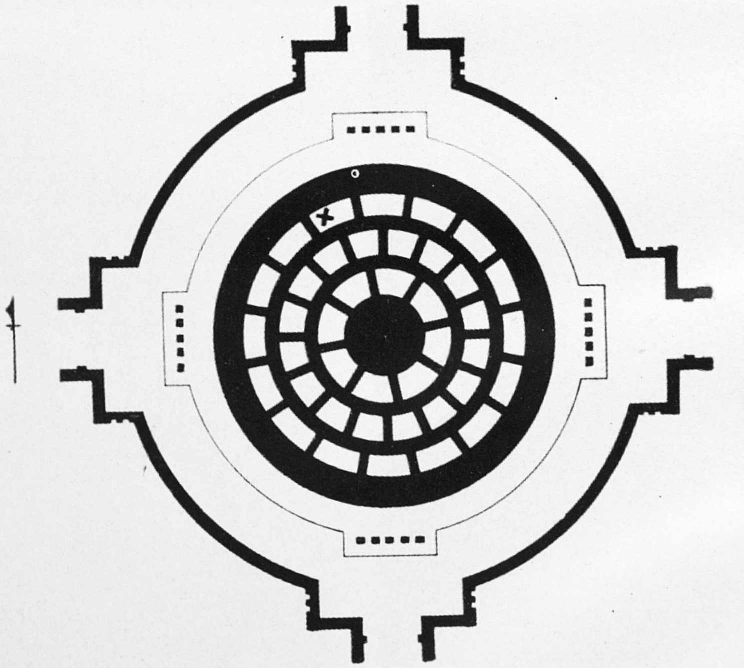
(*c*) Āyaka slab showing decorated Stūpa. (From Stūpa 3).

(*d*) Āyaka slab showing the Buddha's descent from Heaven (From Stūpa 3).

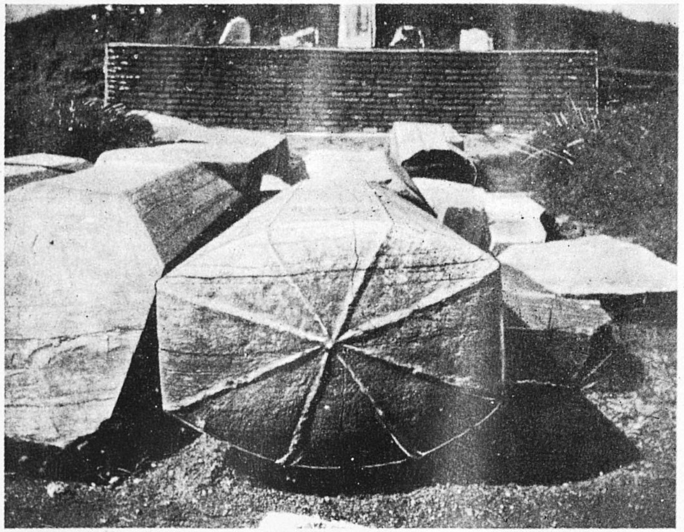
PLATE XII.



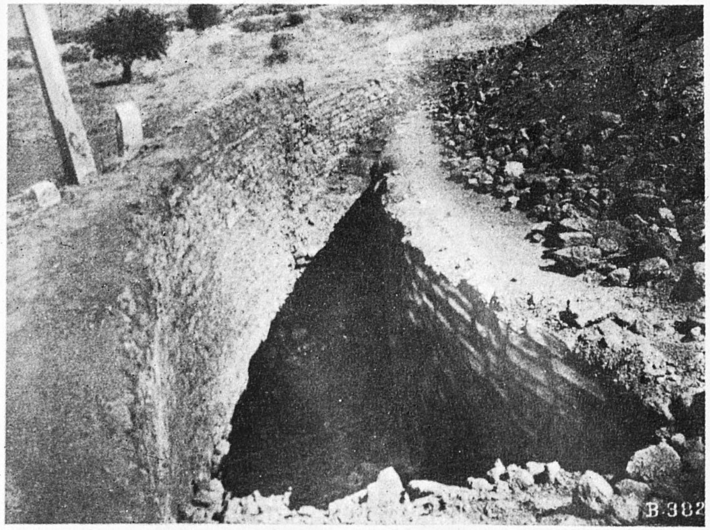
(*a*) The Great Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa after excavation and repairs. (Dotted line shows original height of dome.)



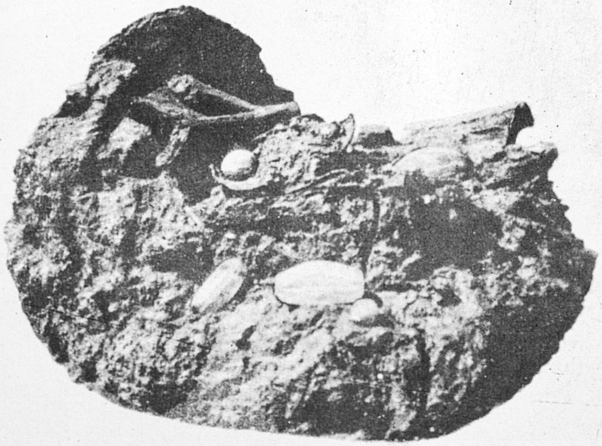
(*b*) Plan of the Great Stūpa. (Cross marks the find spot of relics.)



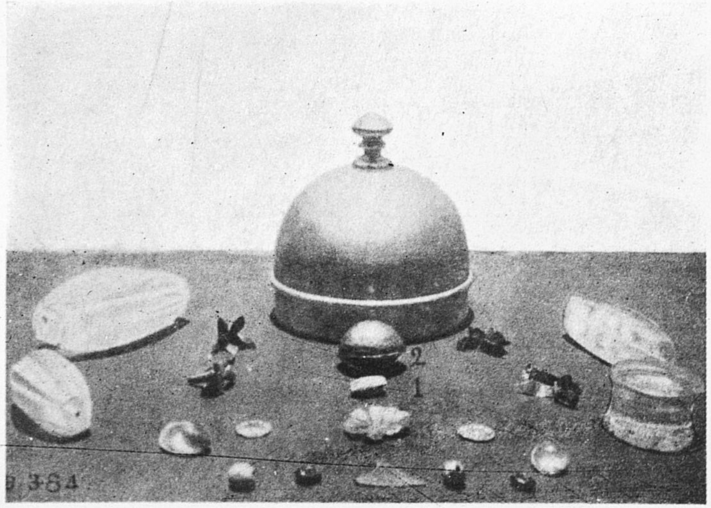
(*a*) Pillars belonging to north Āyaka-platform of the Great Stūpa; showing the top of one of the pillars.



(*b*) The Great Stūpa showing chamber containing the relics.

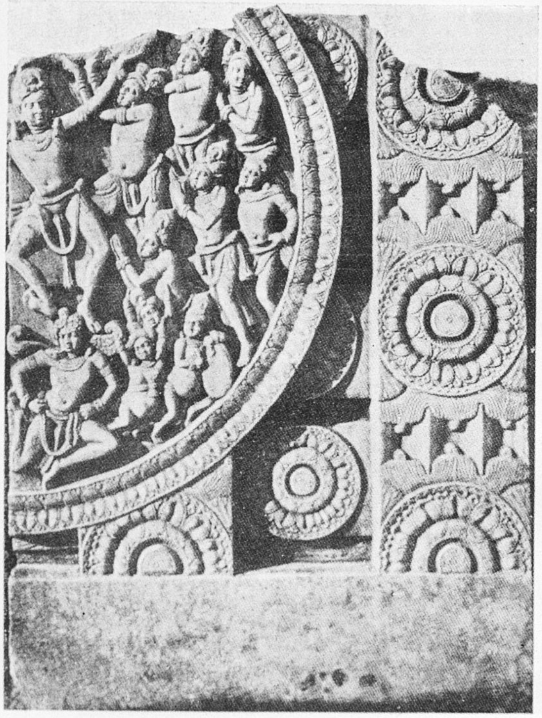


(*c*) Remains of Pot containing the relics recovered from the Great Stūpa.



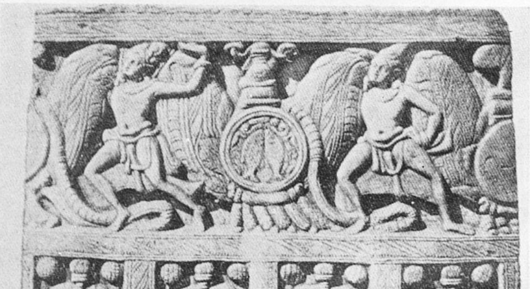
(*d*) Relics recovered from the Great Stūpa (1) Bone Relic, (2) Gold Reliquary (Actual Size).

(a) Portion of a square Āyaka-slab showing the Buddha preaching in the Deer Park at Sārnāth. (From Stūpa 3).

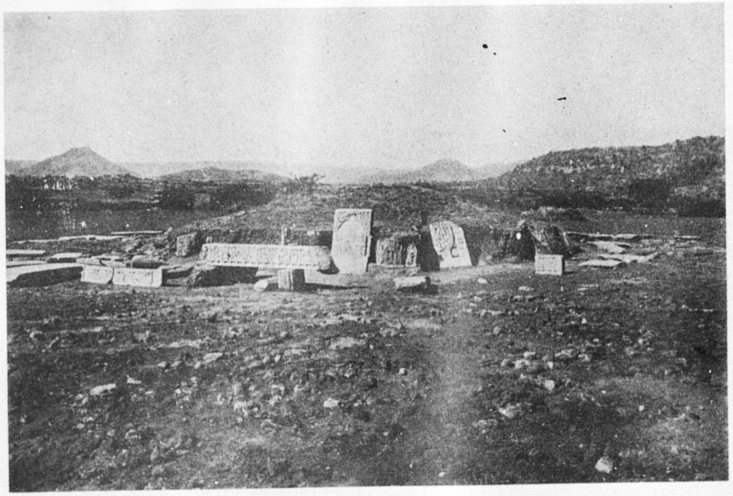


(b) Portion of a square Āyaka-slab showing the Transportation of the Head-dress to Heaven. Māra and his demon-hosts shown in the foreground. (From Stūpa 3).

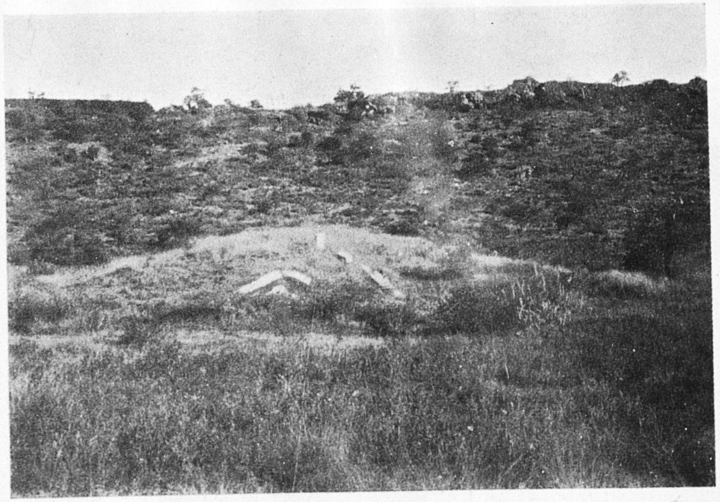
(c) Portion of a square Āyaka-slab from Stūpa 3. The Buddha and the Devas.



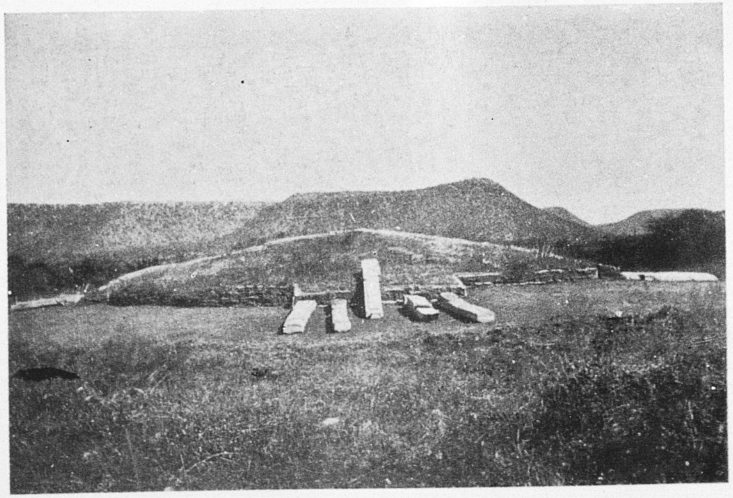
(d) A Frieze Slab showing Festoon Ornament. (From Stūpa 2).



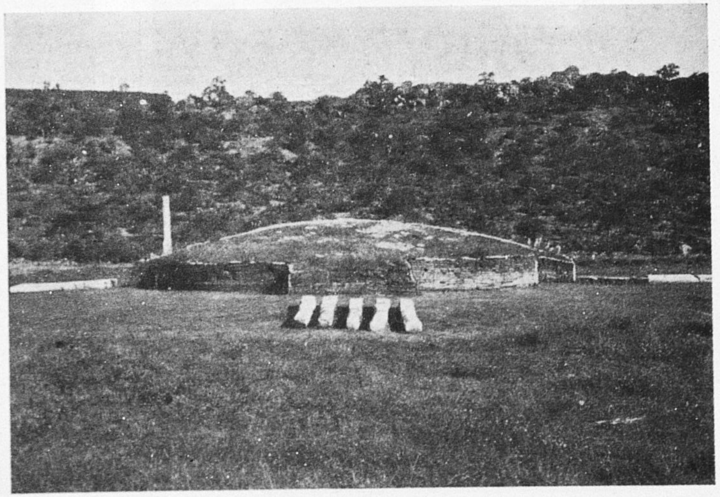
(*a*) Stūpa 3, destroyed by Vandals.



(*c*) Stūpa 5, before Excavation.

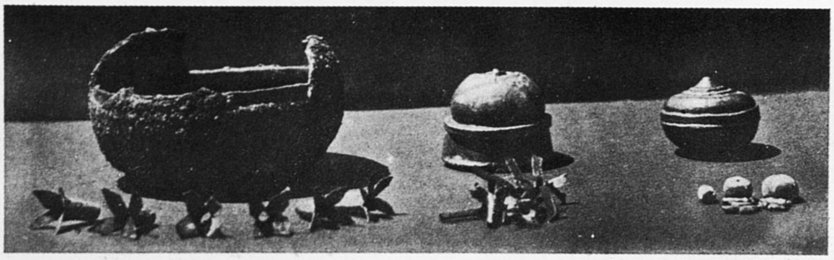


(*b*) Stūpa 6, after Excavation and repairs.

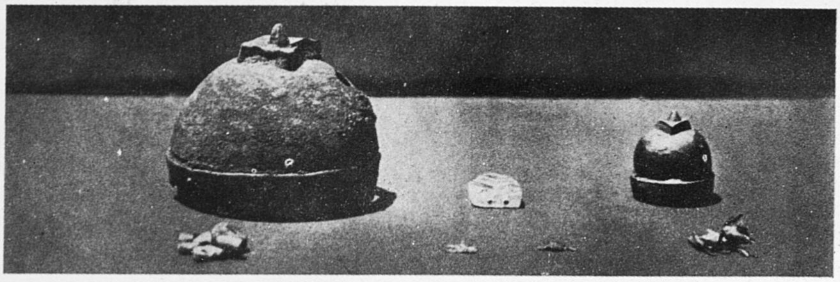


(*d*) Stūpa 5, after Excavation and repairs.

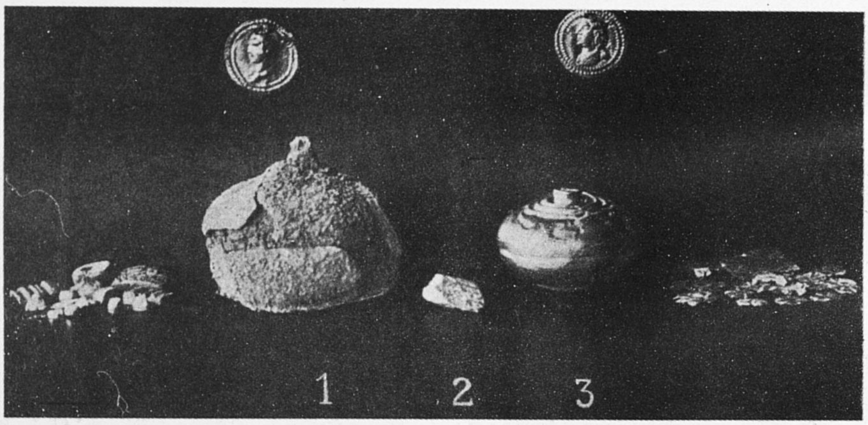
PLATE XVI.



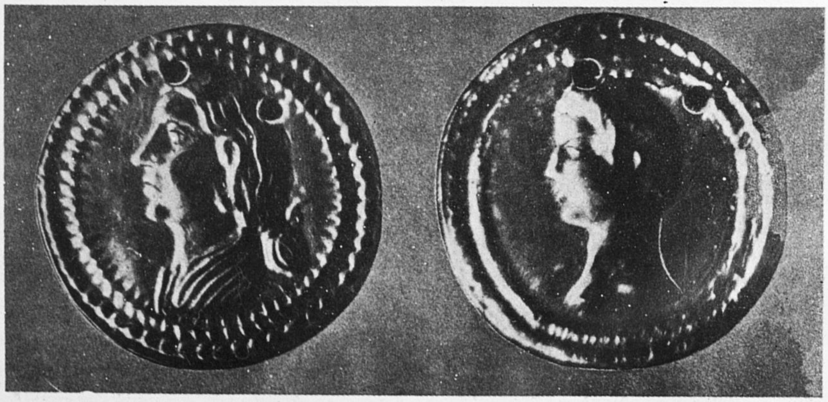
(*a*)



(*b*)



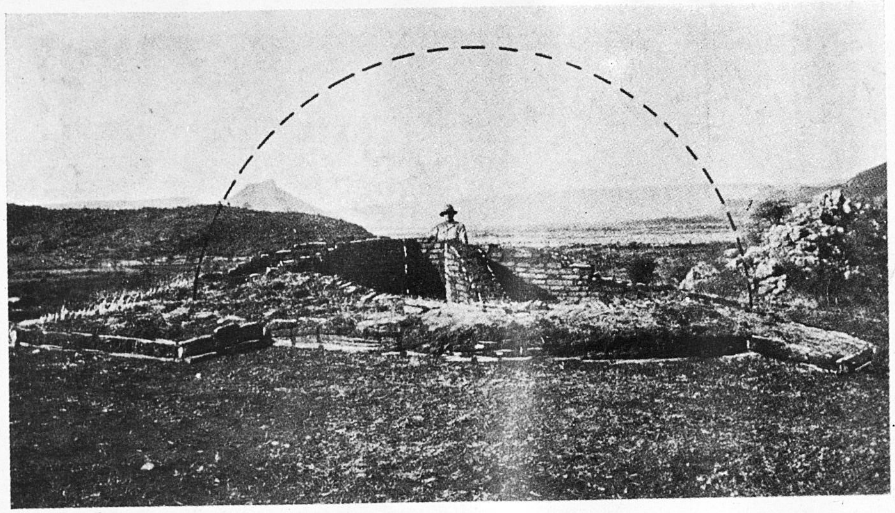
(*c*)



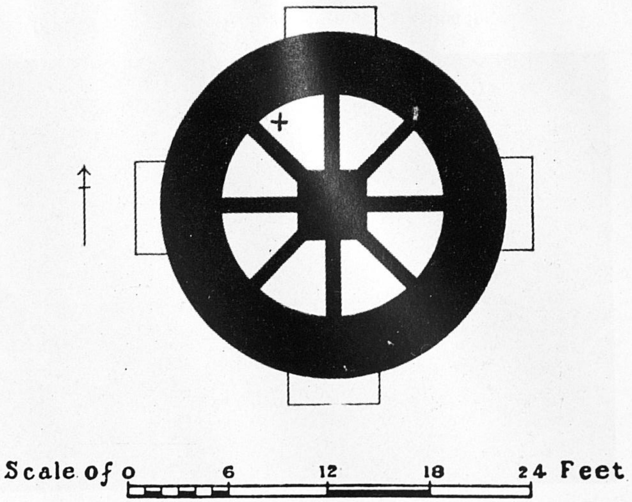
(*d*)

(*a*) Relics from Stūpa 3.
(*b*) Relics from Sūtpa 4.
(*c*) Relics from Stūpa 6. (Actual Size).
(1) Remains of Silver casket. (2) Bone relic. (3) Gold reliquary.
(*d*) Two gold medallions from Stūpa 6. (Enlarged).

PLATE XVII.



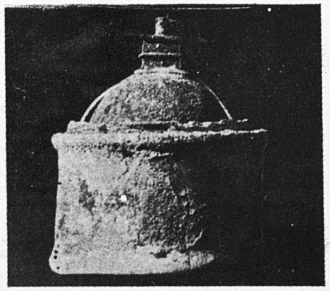
(*a*) Stūpa 8, after excavation (dotted line shows original height of dome).



(*b*) Plan of Stūpa 8. (Cross marks the findspot of relics).

(*c*) Stone casket from Stūpa 8.

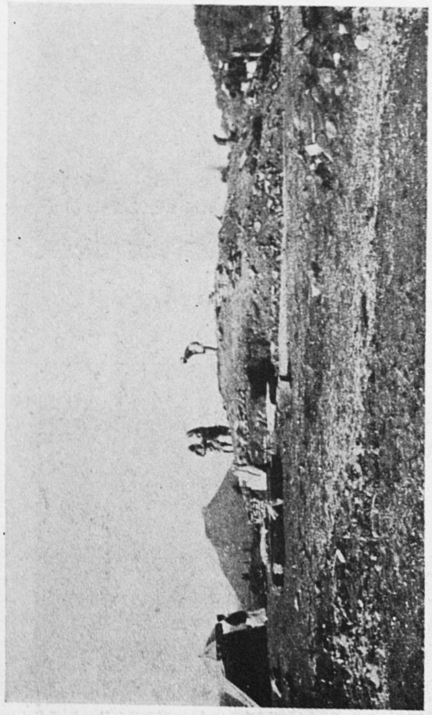
(*d*) Glazed Pottery casket from Stūpa 8.



(*e*) Copper casket from Stūpa 8.

(*f*) Silver casket and Gold Reliquary from Stūpa 8.

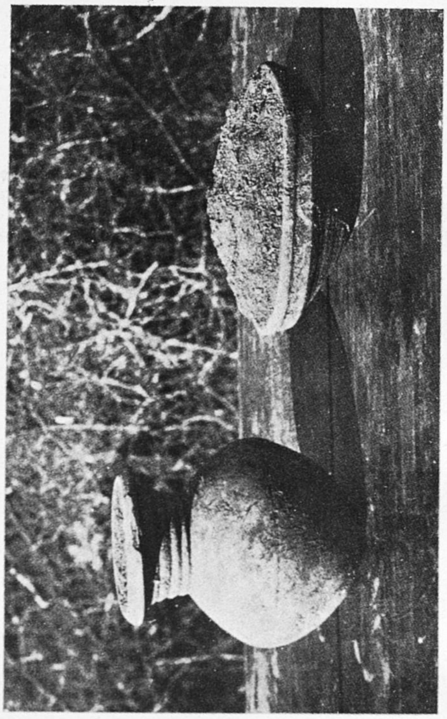
PLATE XVIII.



(a) Stūpa 9, during Excavations.

(b) Bas-relief from Stūpa 9 portraying the Hare Jātaka.

(c) Ox Bones found in Stūpa 9.



(d) Water-pot and food-bowl found in Stūpa 9.

(*a*) Inscribed Foot-print slab from Nāharaḷḷabōḍu.

(*b*) Slab from Stūpa 3 portraying the Conversion of the Śākya princes.

(*c*) The Exhortation of the Gods to the Bodhisattva.

(*d*) The Bodhisattva descending from Heaven in the form of an White Elephant.

Plate XX.

(*a*) Casting the Horoscope.

(*b*) The Nativity and Seven Steps.

(*a*) *Right.* Asita's visit to Suddhodana.
Left. Presentation of the child at the Śākya Temple.

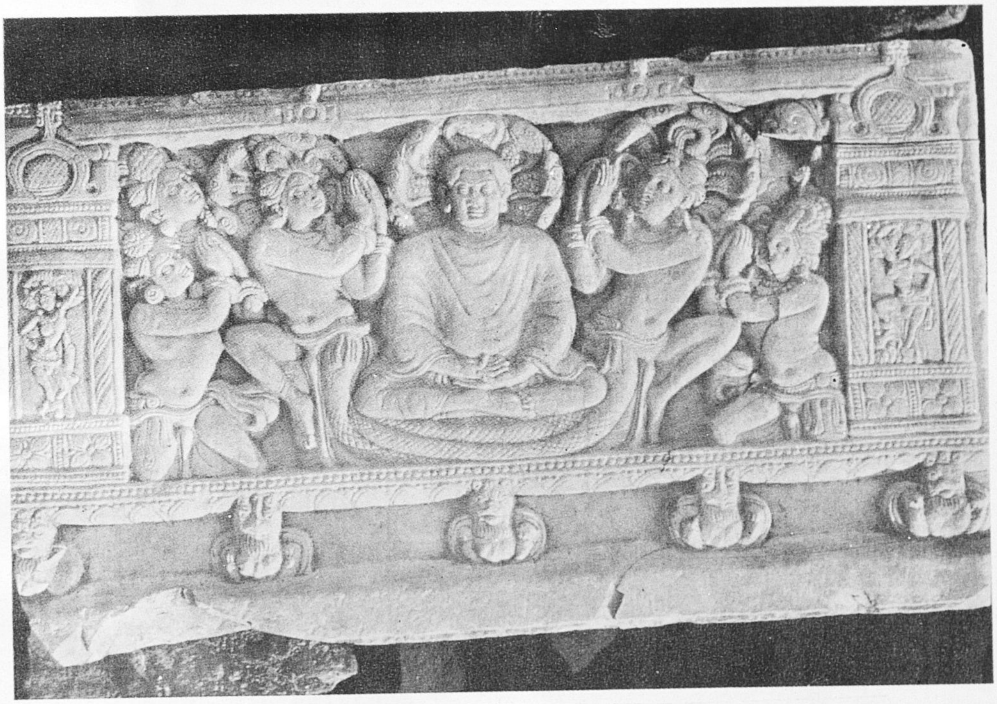
(*b*) The Renunciation or Going Forth.

Photo.-Litho. Office, Survey of India.

(*a*) The Transportation of Gautama's Head-dress to Heaven.

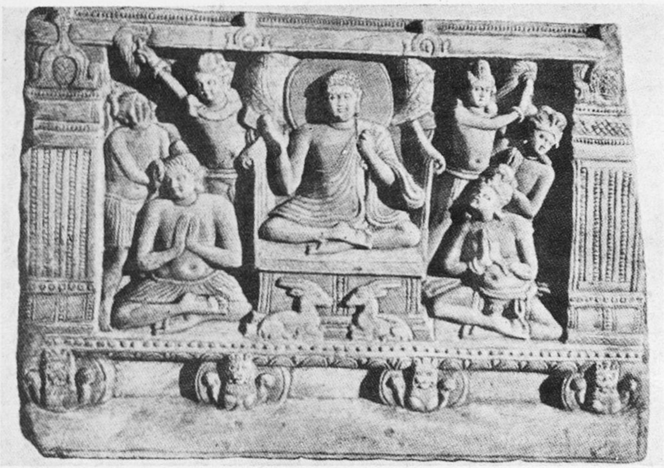
(*b*) Māra's Assault.

(*a*) The Gods Exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to Mankind.



(*b*) The Buddha protected by the serpent King Muchalinda at Gayā.

PLATE XXIV.



(a)

(b)

(c)

(a) The First Sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth.
(b) The Buddha holding two relic caskets before a group of Nāgas.
(c) Unidentified sculpture from Stūpa 3.

(a)

(b)

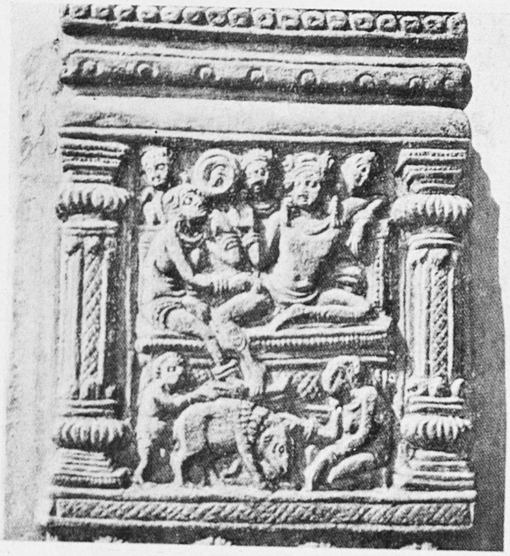
(c)

(a) King Kappina's Conversion (From Stūpa 3).

(b) Pilaster from Stūpa 3.

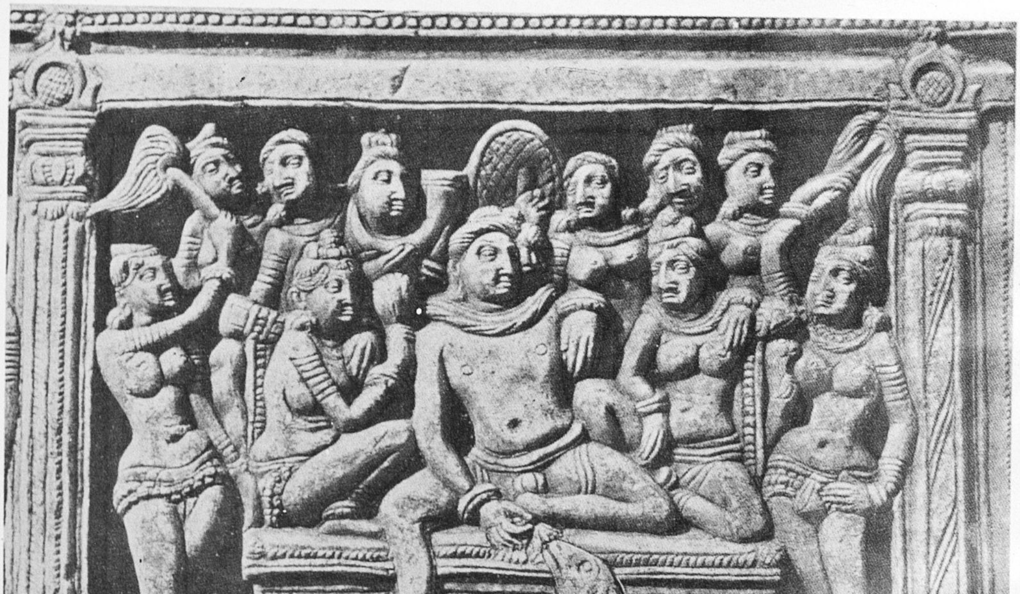
(c) Detail of pilaster from Stūpa 3.

PLATE XXVI.



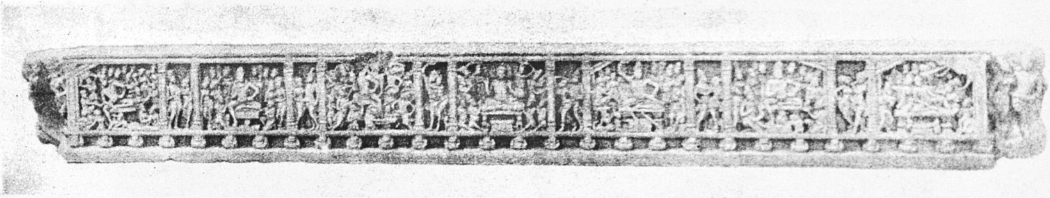
(a) Upper panel of Pilaster from Stūpa 3.

(b) Unidentified slab from Stūpa 3, depicting a pet ram.



(c) Unidentified panel from an Āyaka Cornice stone (From Stūpa No. 2.)

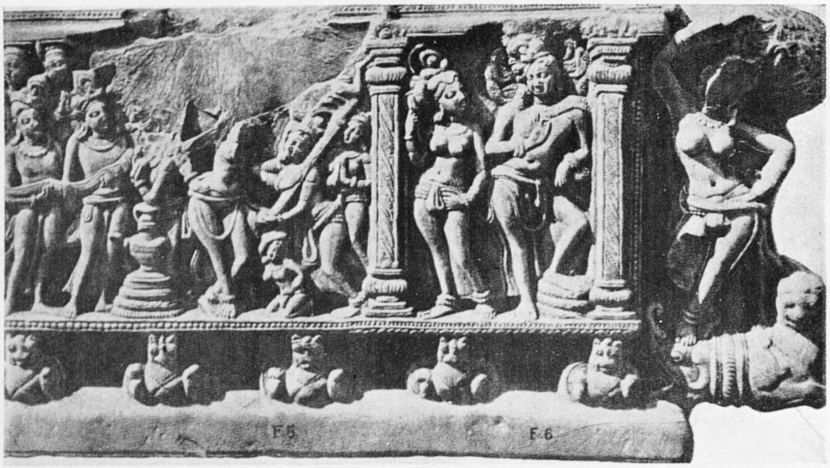
(*a*) **Unidentified panel from Stūpa 2.**



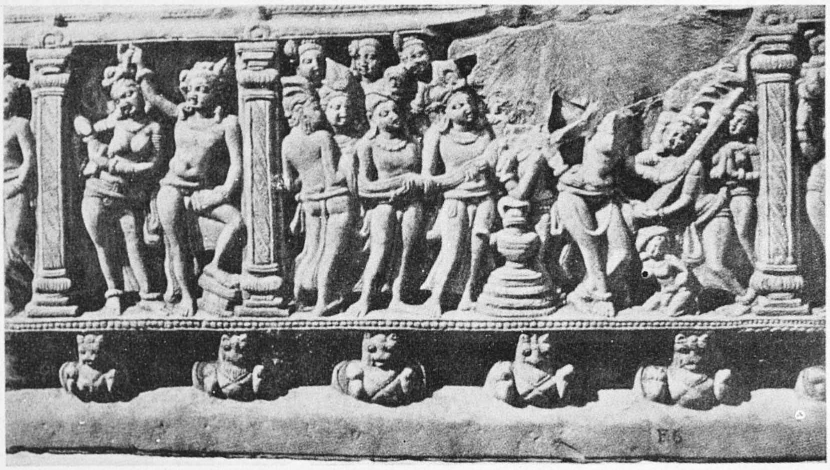
(*b*) **Āyaka Cornice stone from Stūpa 3 (Usual tpye).**

(*c*) **Āyaka Cornice stone from Stūpa 6. (Only one example of this was found).**

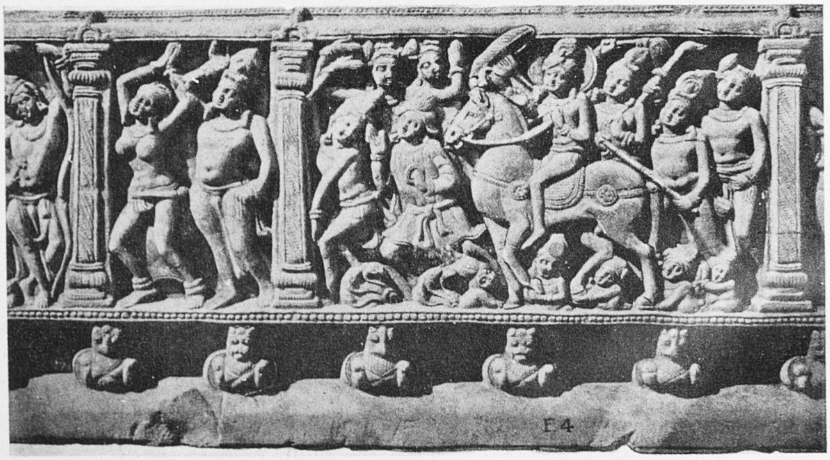
PLATE XXVIII.



(*a*)

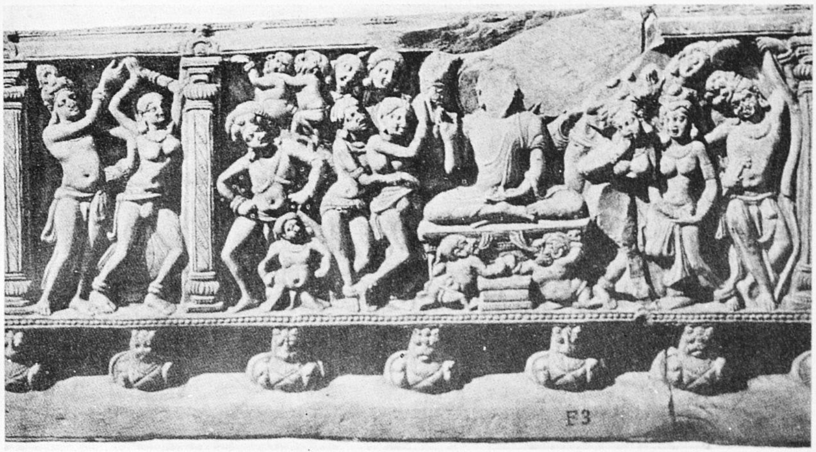


(*b*)

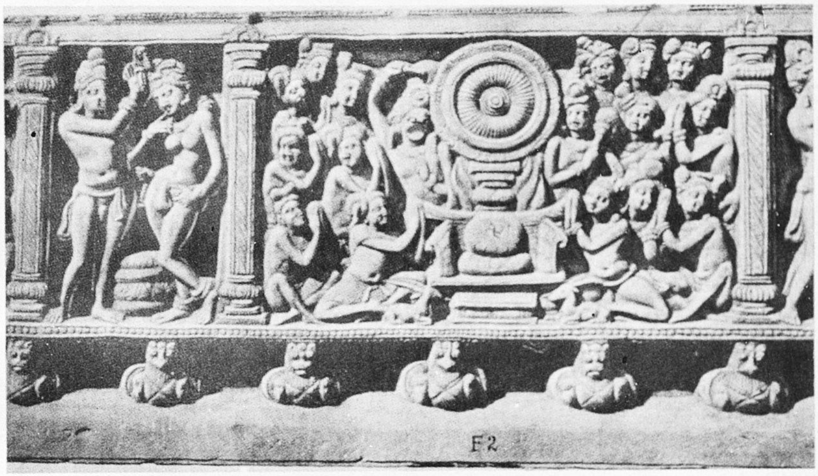


(*c*)

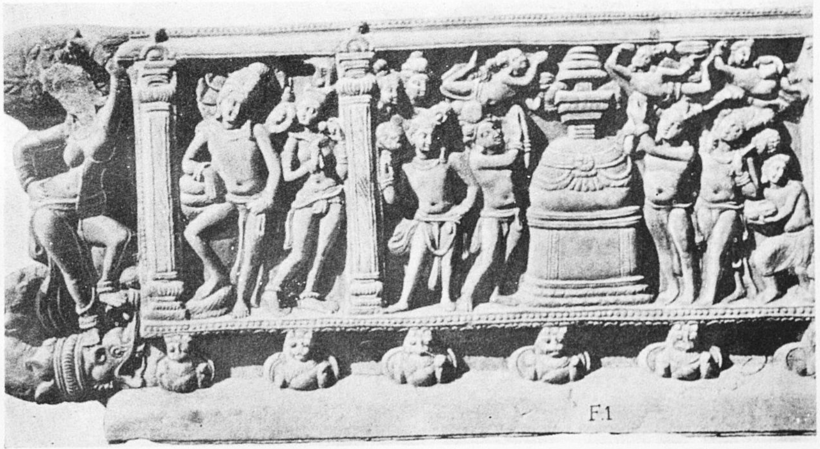
(*a*) Āyaka-Cornice stone from Stūpa 3.
(*b*) The Nativity and Seven Steps.
(*c*) The Renunciation or Going Forth.



(a)



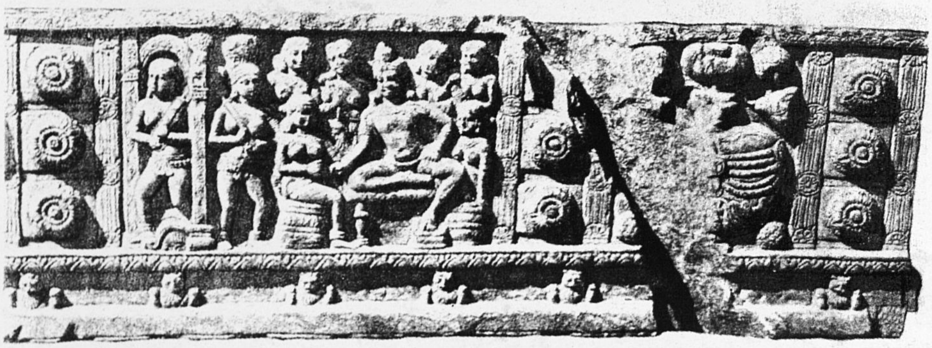
(b)



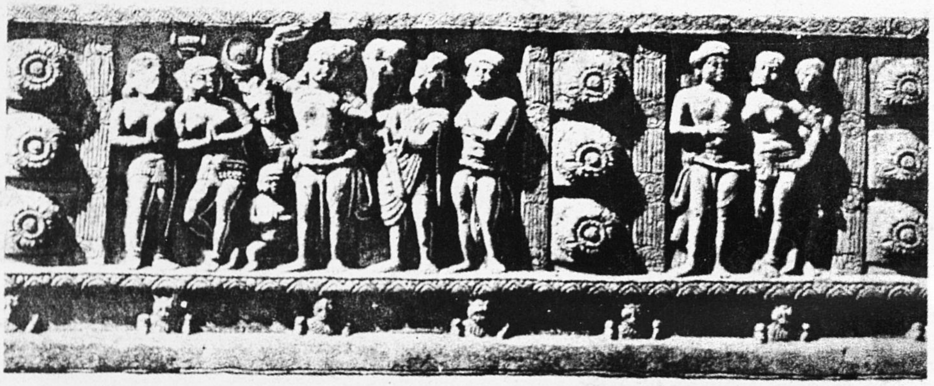
(c)

(a) Māra's Assault.
(b) The First Sermon in the Deer Park.
(c) The Death of the Buddha.

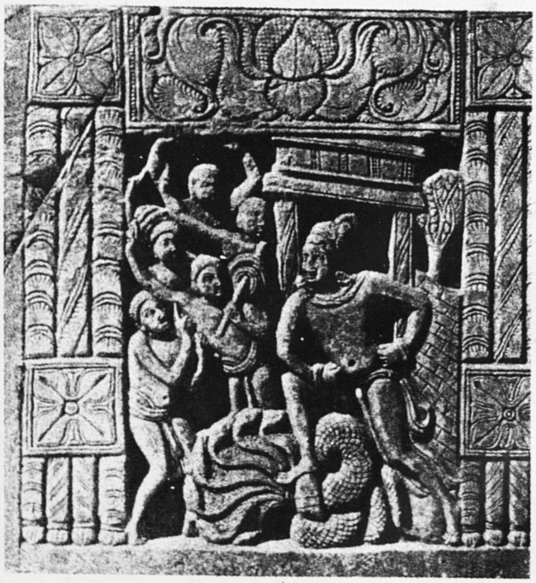
PLATE XXX.



(*a*)

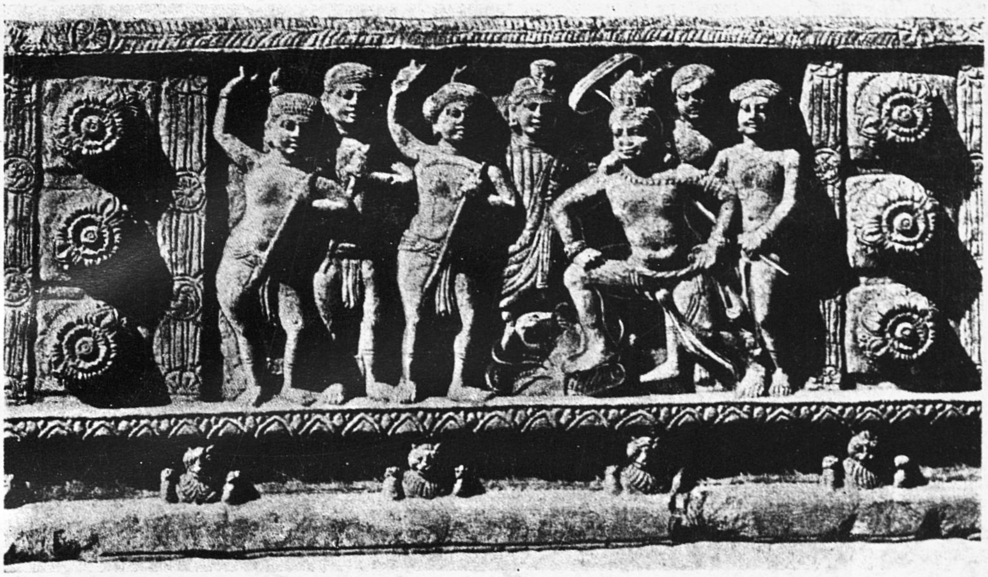


(*b*)



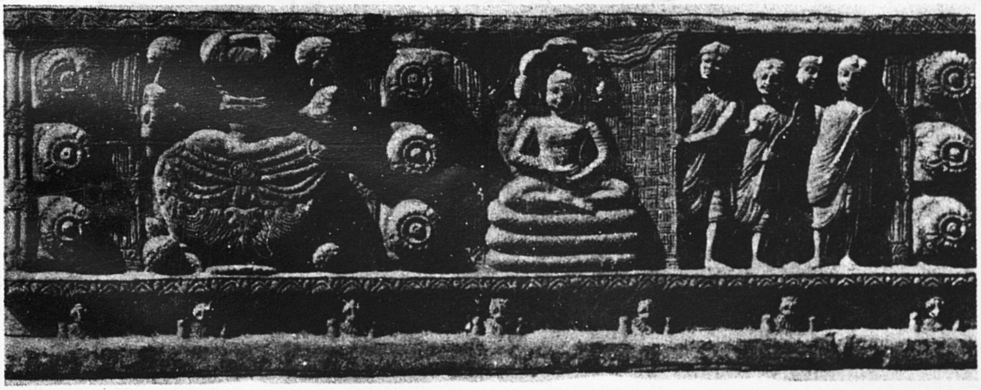
(*c*)

(*a*) A Prince in his Palace (**From Stūpa 9**).
(*b*) **A Chakravartin surrounded by the Seven Jewels From Stūpa 9.**
(*c*) **A King denouncing Brahmanism. From Stūpa 2.**



(a)

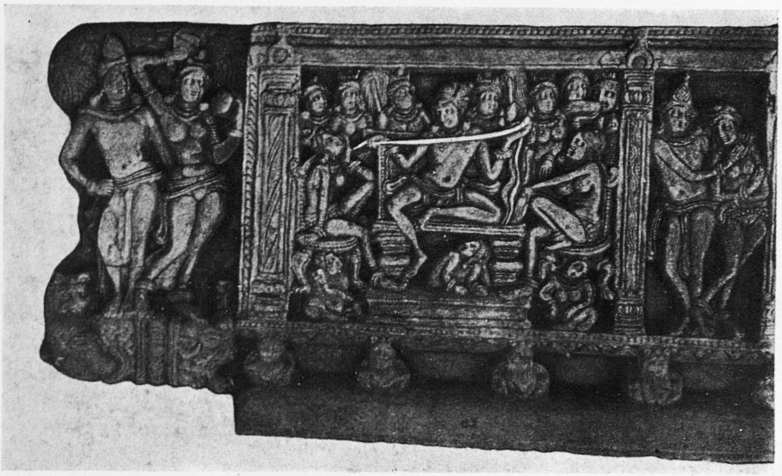
(b)



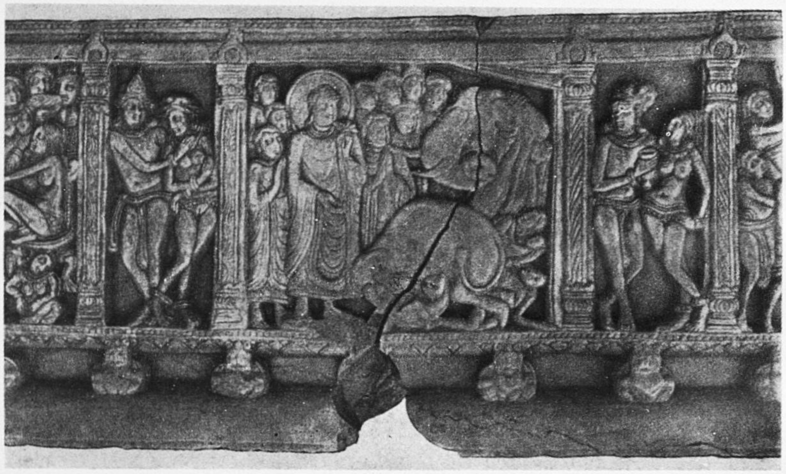
(c)

(a) A King denouncing Brahmanism. From Stūpa 9.
(b) The Conversion of the Yakṣha Āḷavaka. From Stūpa 9.
(c) The Buddha protected by the Nāga King Muchalinda.

Plate XXXII.



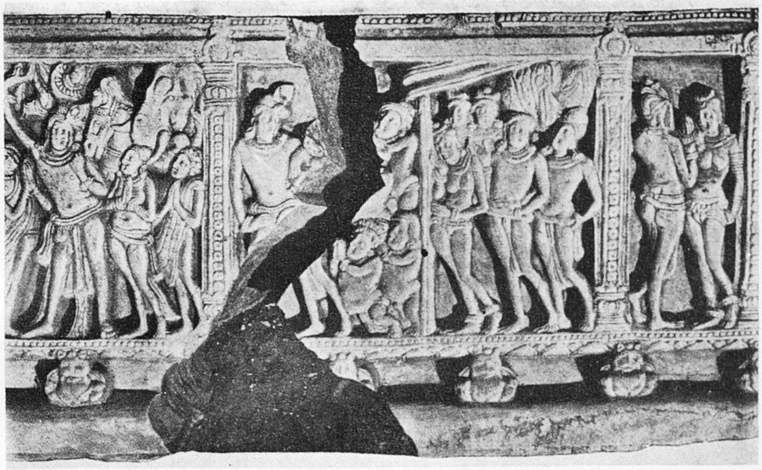
(a)



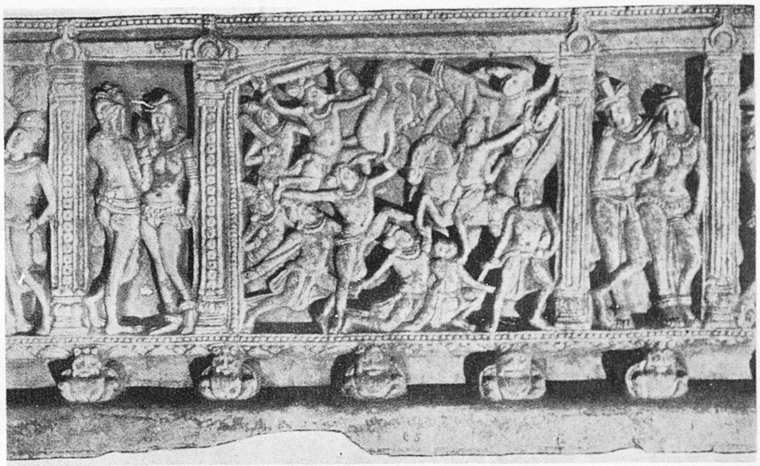
(b)

(c)

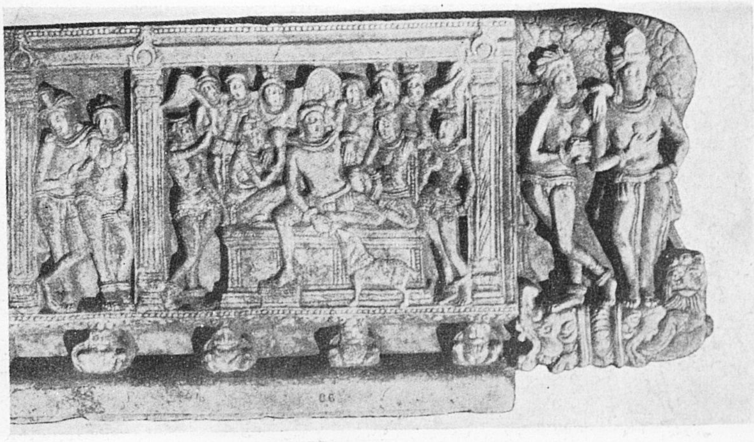
(a) **Siddhārtha and the mighty bow.**
(b) **Subjugation of the Elephant Nālāgiri.**
(c) **A Chakravartin and his Seven Jewels.**



(a)



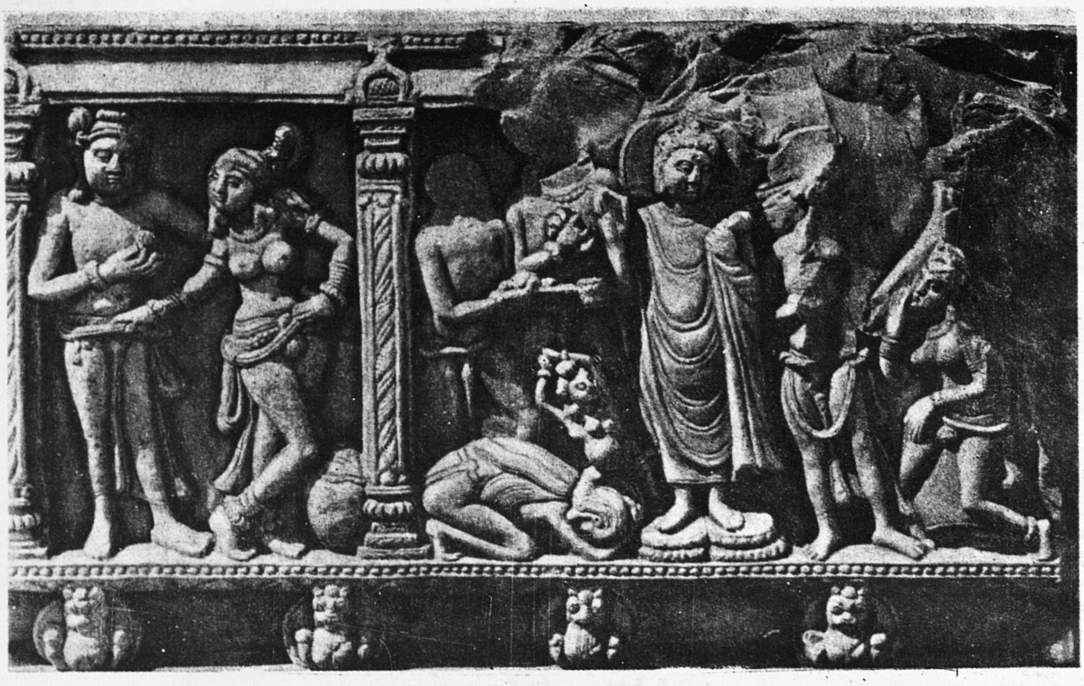
(b)



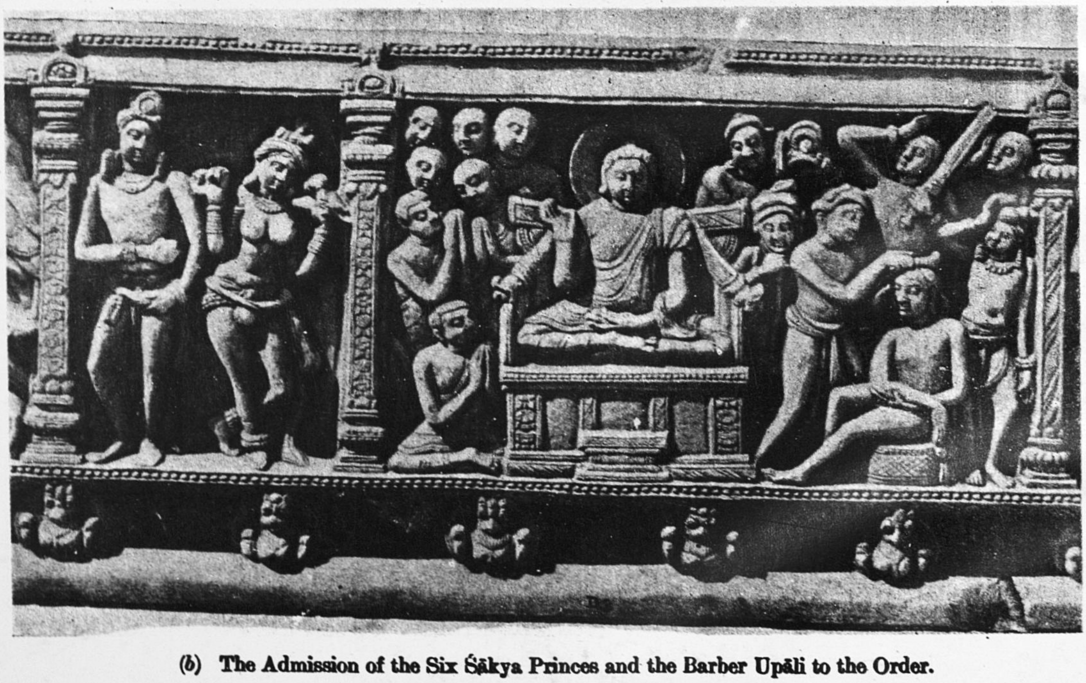
(c)

(a) Unidentified sculpture.
(b) Unidentified sculpture.
(c) Unidentified sculptures.

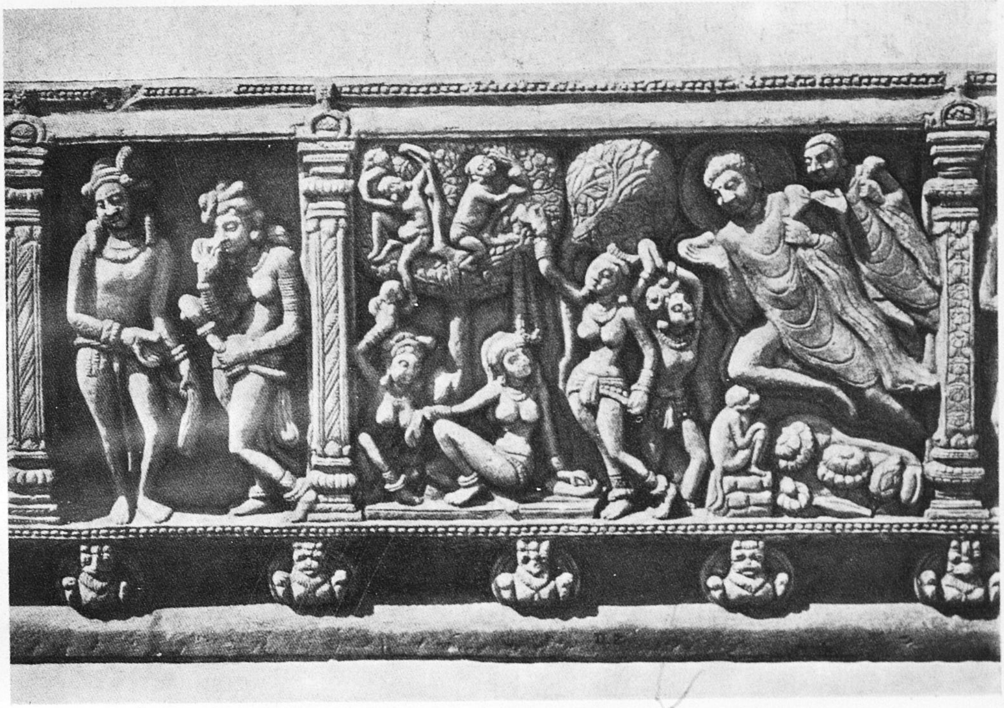
PLATE XXXIV.



(*a*) The Buddha Dipaṅkara's Prediction Regarding Gautama Buddha.

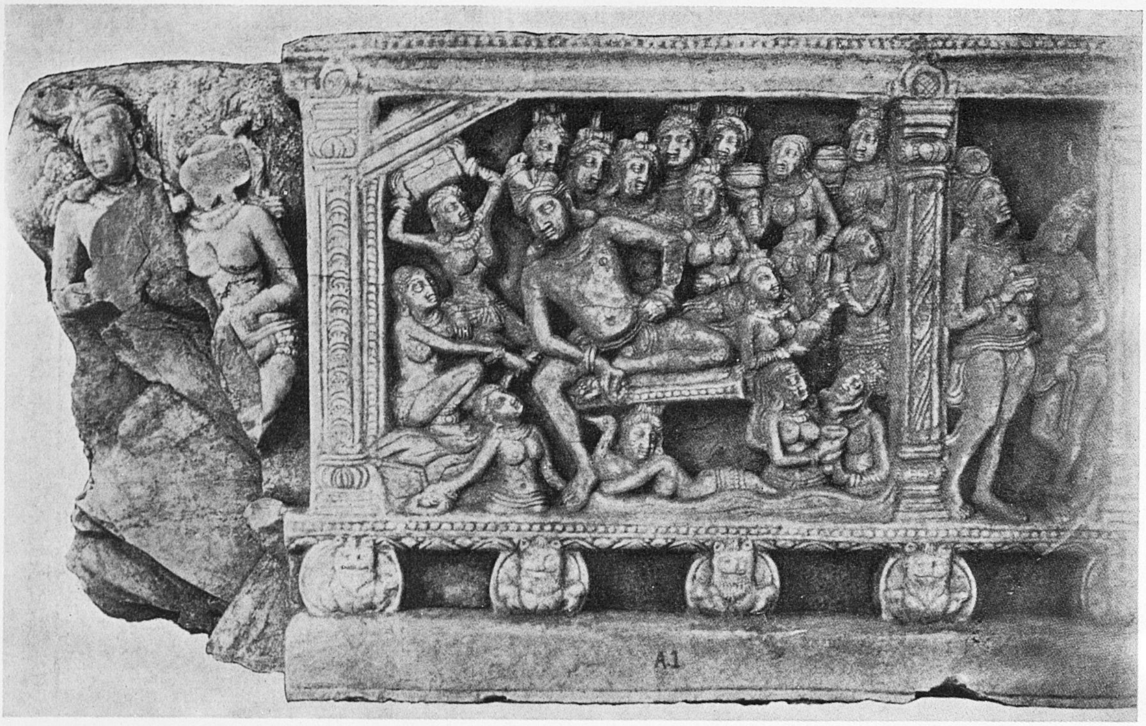


(*b*) The Admission of the Six Śākya Princes and the Barber Upāli to the Order.

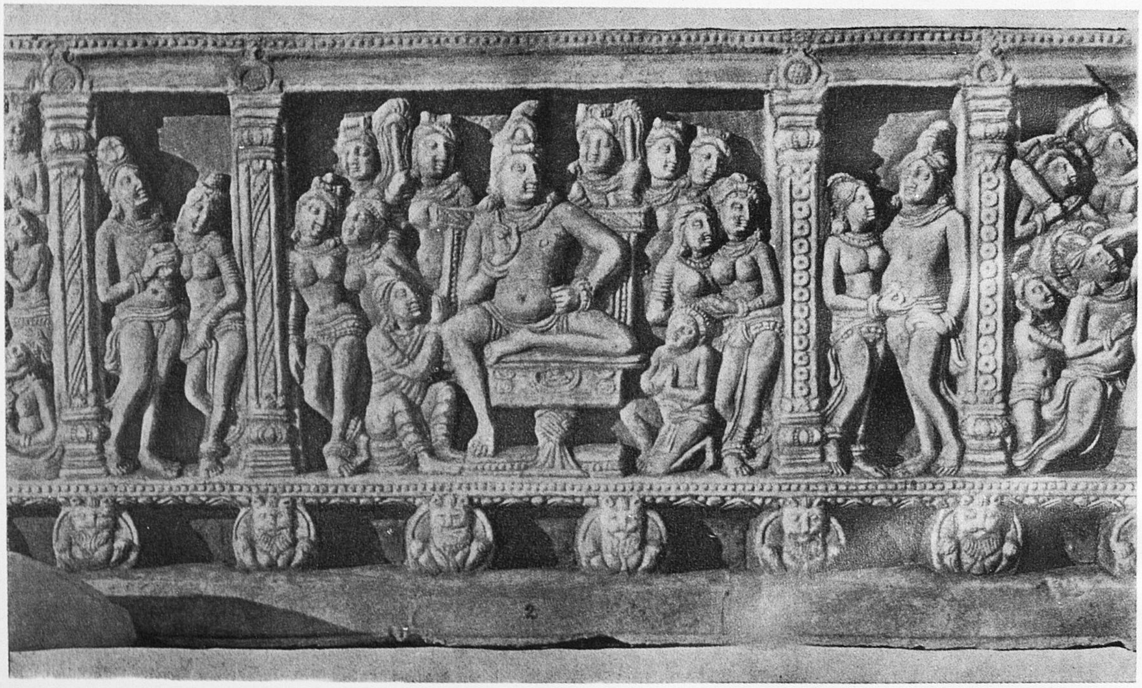


(*a*) The Buddha and Nanda on a visit to Heaven.

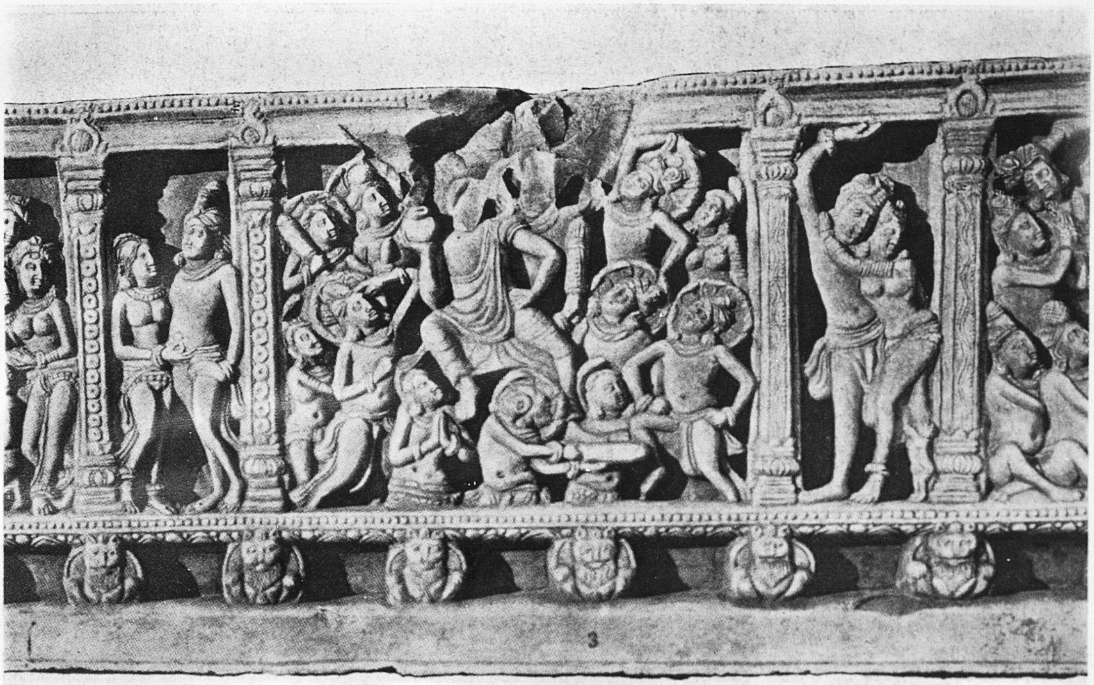
(*b*) The Gift of Earth.



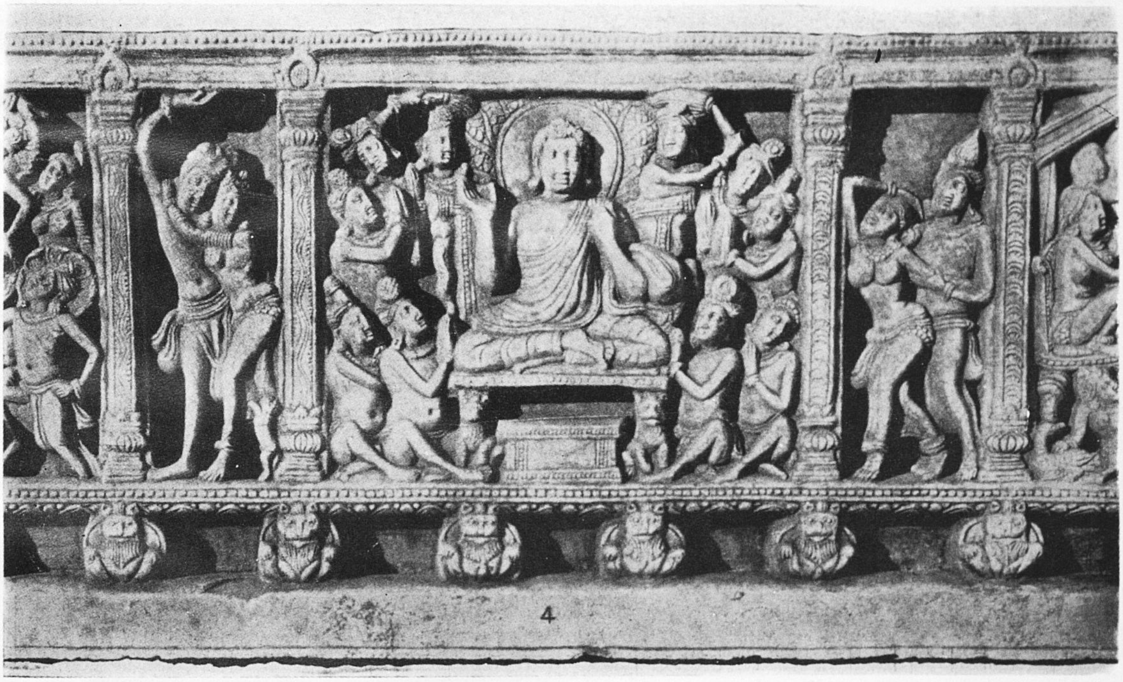
(*a*) Prince Siddhārtha in the Pleasure Garden.



(*b*) **Unidentified** Sculpture.

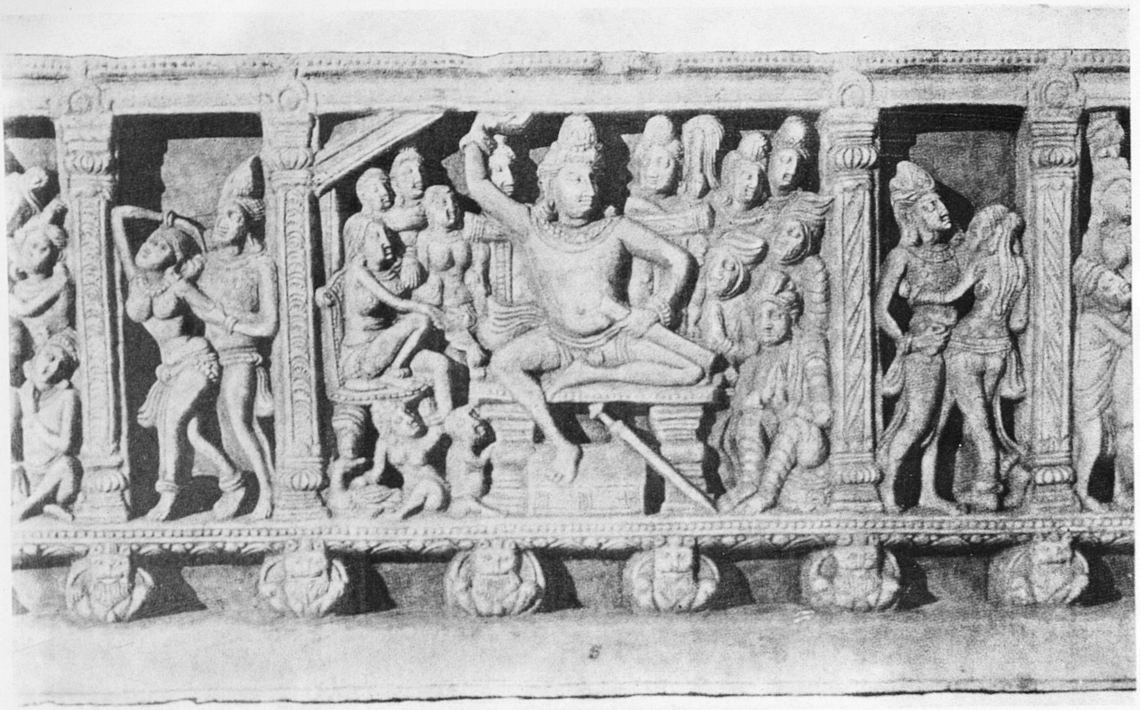


(*a*) The Novice Sumana and the Nāga King Paṇṇaka.



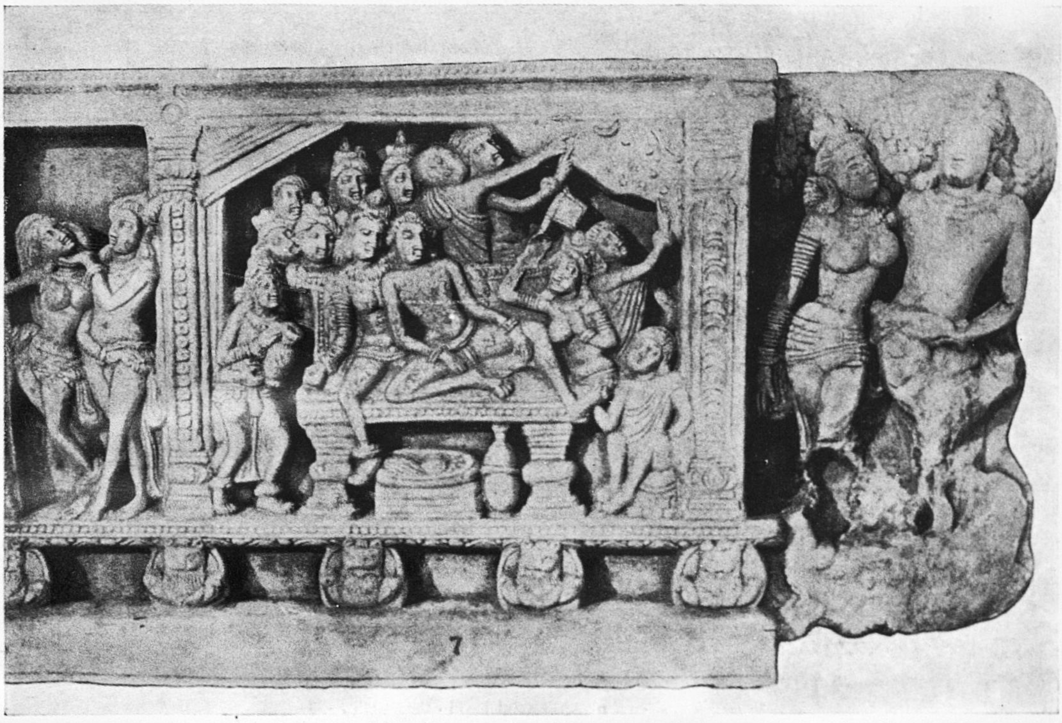
(*b*) The Devas Congratulating the Buddha after the enlightenment.

PLATE XXXVIII.

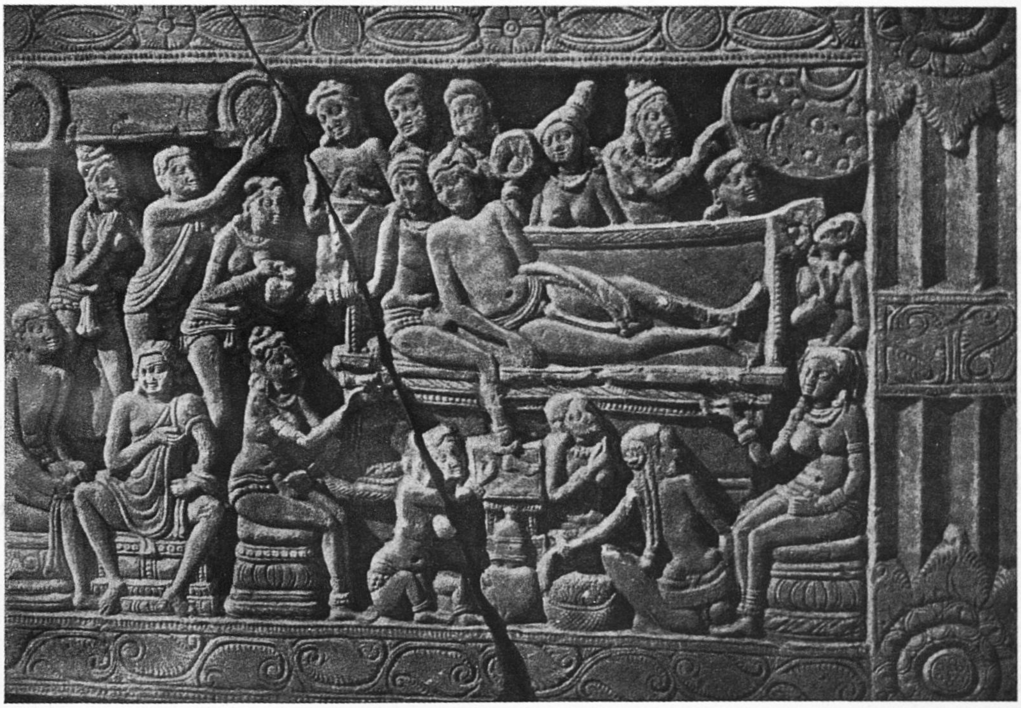


(*a*) The Lady Amarā and the Four wise Men.

(*b*) Campeyya Jātaka.

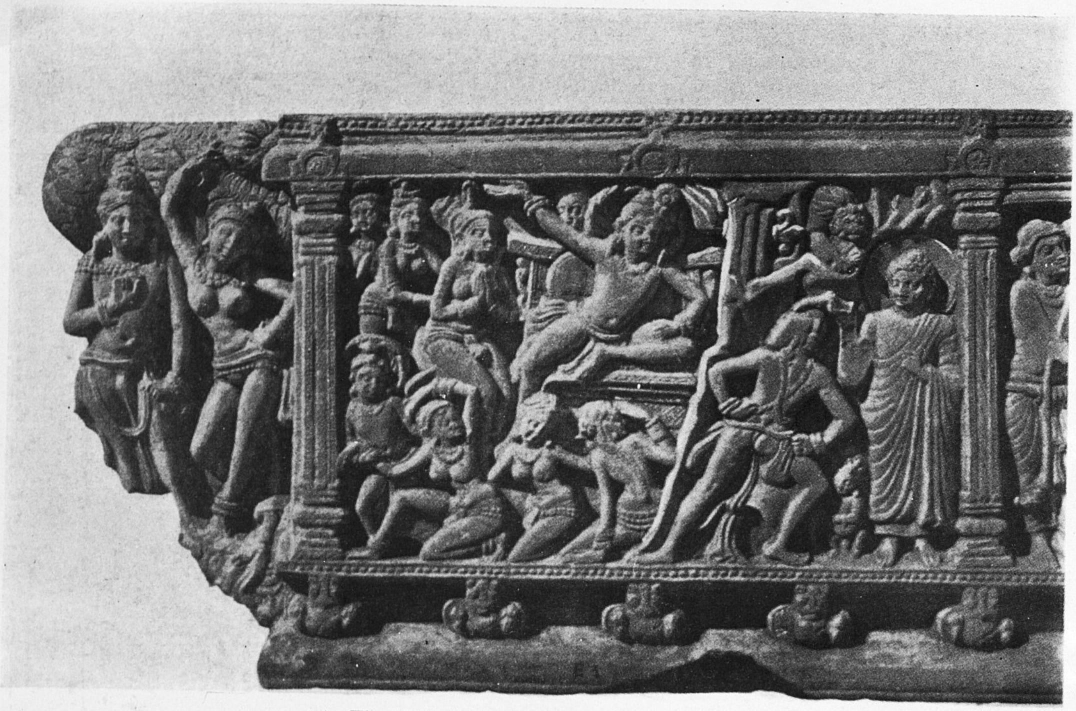


(a) Mandhātu Jātaka.

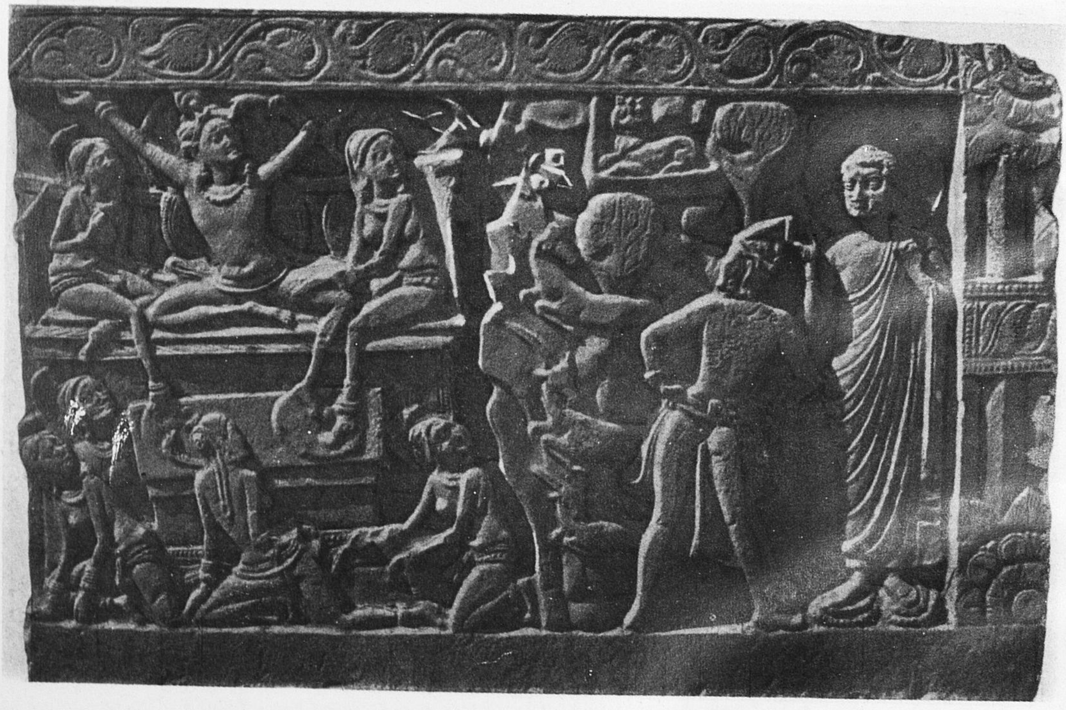


(b) Mandhātu Jātaka.

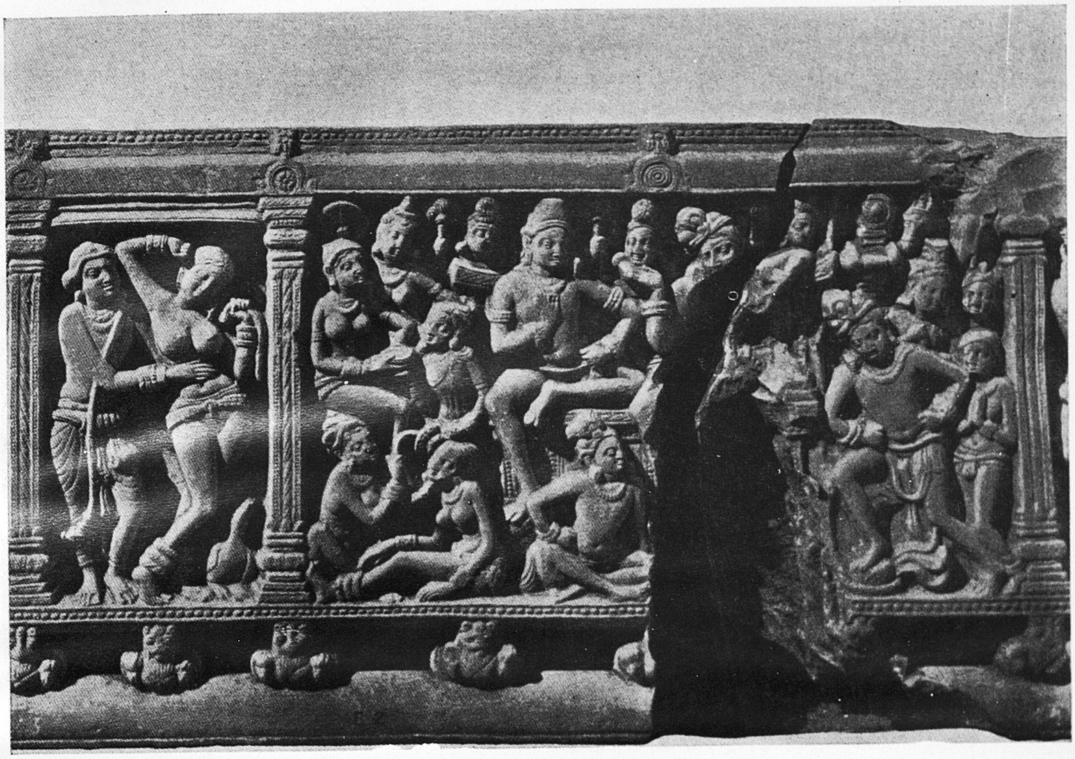
PLATE XL.



(*a*) The Nāga King Apalāla Subdued by the Buddha



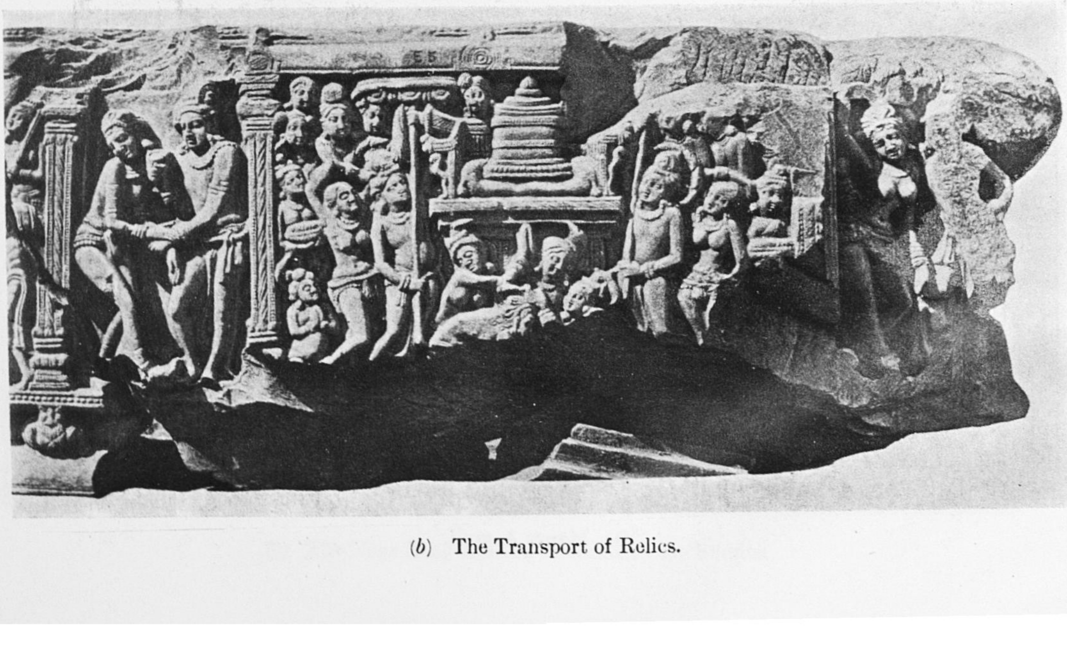
(*b*) The Nāga King Apalāla Subdued by the Buddha



(*a*) Unidentified Sculpture.

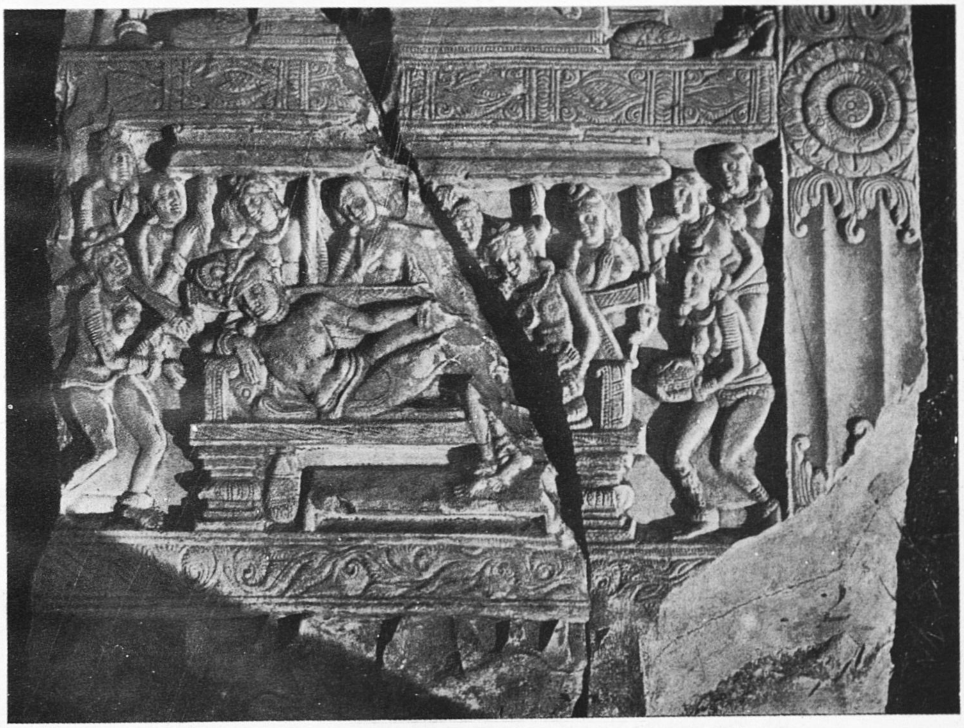
(*b*) Māra's Assault.

(*a*) Śibi Jātaka.



(*b*) The Transport of Relics.

(*a*) Mandhātu Jātaka.

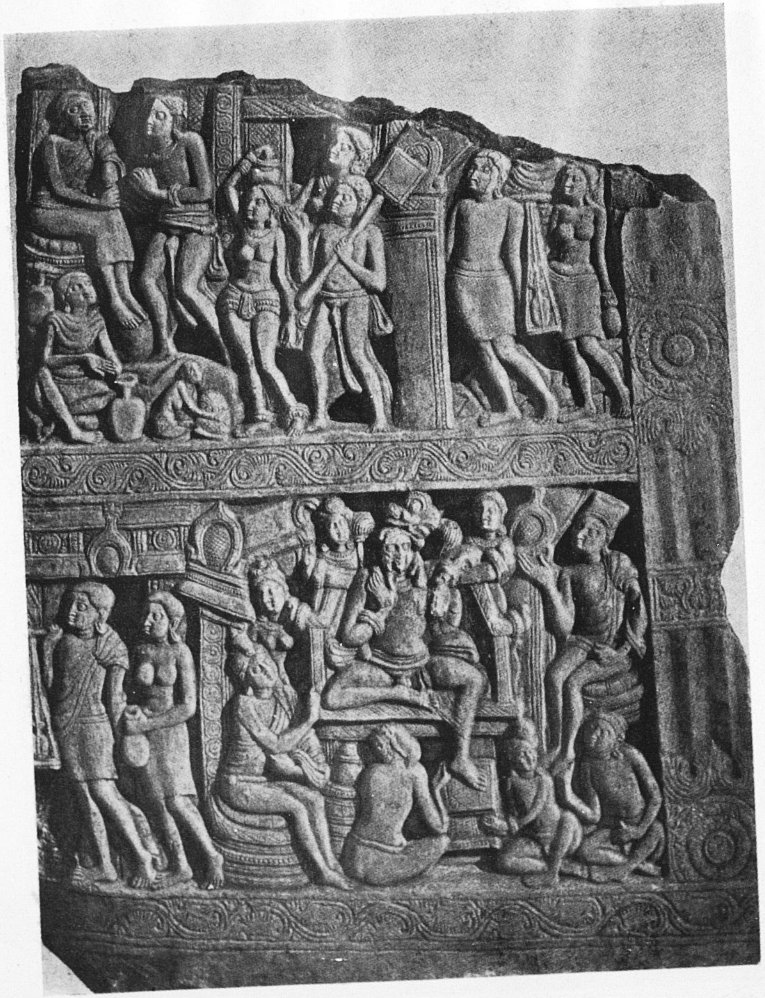


(*b*) Mandhātu Jātaka.

(*a*) The Buddha Visited by Indra and the Minstrel Pañchaśikha.

(*b*) The Buddha Visited by Indra in the Cave of Indraśaila.

PLATE XLV



(a) Dasaratha Jātaka.

(b) Mahāpaduma Jātaka.

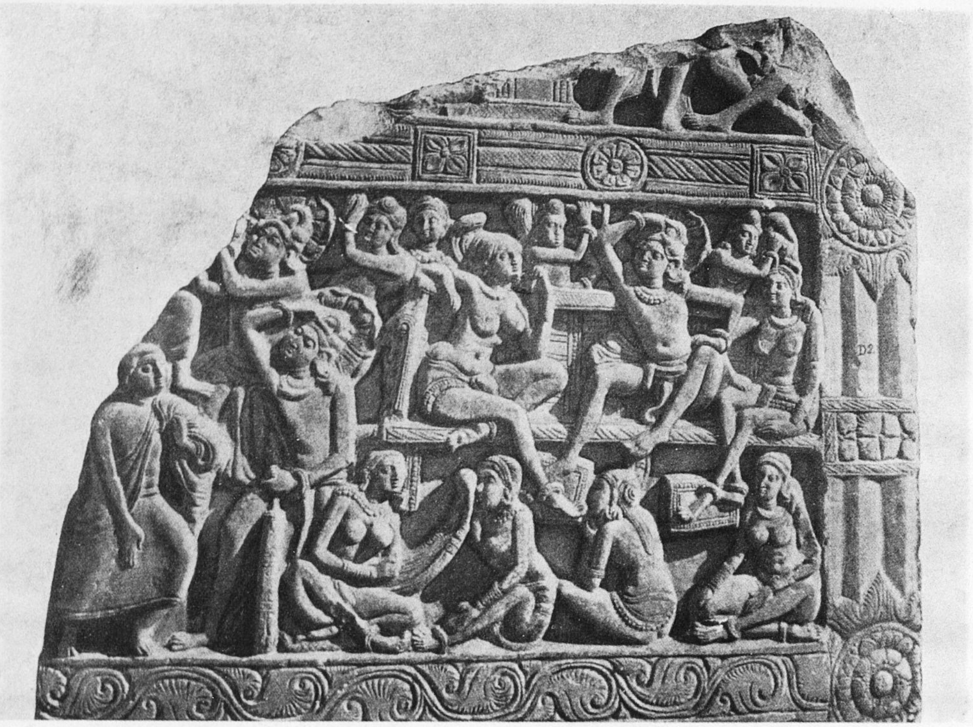
(*a*) Ghata Jātaka.

(*b*) The Buddha Preaching to Four Monks.

(*a*) Dīghītikosala Jātaka (From Stūpa 2).

(*b*) Offering of Food to the Buddha after the Enlightment (From Stūpa 2).

PLATE XLVIII.



(*a*) Sāgata and the Nāga of the Mango-Ferry.

(*b*) Sāgata and the Nāga of the Mango-Ferry.

(a) Conversion of the Yaksha Āḷavaka.

(b) Conversion of the Yaksha Āḷavaka.

PLATE L.

(*b*) Episodes in the Career of the Buddha. (From Stūpa 2.)

(*a*) King Kappina's Conversion (From Stūpa 2.)